

The New Disrupters / Palestinian Hope / Fall's Best Books

TIME

WHO
IS
TELLING
THE
TRUTH?THE
FACT
WARS

Romney <Check one>



Obama

BY
MICHAEL
SCHERER

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UNCOVER

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2 | Editor's Desk

BRIEFING

7 | Verbatim

8 | LightBox

Afghans remain refugees in Pakistan

10 | World

The Pope's butler on trial; a ferry disaster in Hong Kong

12 | Nation

Mark Halperin on the key Senate races

16 | Economy

Small cities seek chic (and cash) with fashion weeks

17 | Health & Science

Spare what rod? A new debate over spanking kids at school

18 | Milestones

The journalistic punch of New York Times publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger

COMMENTARY

20 | Worldview

Fareed Zakaria on a revived al-Qaeda

23 | In the Arena

Joe Klein on a Tea Party Congressman in a tough race

ON THE COVER:

Illustration by Dylan Roscove for TIME



For the first presidential debate, technicians prepare the stage on the University of Denver campus. Photograph by Kevin Dietsch—UPI/Landov

FEATURES

24 Blue Truths, Red Truths

And sometimes no truth. Both parties massage the facts. Here's why it works so well by Michael Scherer

32 Man Without a Country

Mahmoud Abbas takes a nonviolent road toward Palestinian statehood by Karl Vick

38 The New Disrupters

Eight ideas that are reshaping sports, music, politics and more by Andréa Ford, Dan Macsai and Roya Wolverson

44 Serious Ben

With the true-life thriller *Argo*, actor-director Ben Affleck completes his journey back from tabloid fixture to Oscar contender by Joel Stein

THE CULTURE

50 | Pop Chart

Community's Joel McHale; inside Russian prisons; another *Mona Lisa*; the greatest fictional detectives

52 | Books

Fall reading: what's best this autumn, from horror lit and graphic novels to essential cookbooks

62 | The Awesome Column

Joel Stein helps start a charter school and learns a lesson

64 | 10 Questions

Modern Family's Ty Burrell



Burrell, page 64

Editor's Desk

On Oct. 1, TIME won an Emmy for our documentary video and microsite Beyond 9/11: Portraits of Resilience. Watch the videos at time.com/beyond911



Political Truths Are Not Black and White



WHEN IT COMES TO POLITICS, believing is seeing. Partisan Republicans see Barack Obama as dishonest; partisan Democrats see Mitt Romney the same way. Voters see candidates they support as truth tellers; they regard candidates they oppose as shadier. We are suffering from a national case of confirmation bias, the idea that we lend credence to information that confirms our opinions and ignore evidence that doesn't—even in the face of facts.

Michael Scherer's smart and insightful cover story on the fact wars suggests that truth in the 2012 campaign is in the eye of the beholder. To say that the candidates are out-and-out lying wouldn't exactly be true. The candidates see the world in different ways and deploy their own facts to confirm those views. The most disturbing truth in the story is not about the falsehoods of any one candidate but the scientific studies showing that voters with more information are likely to be more biased than those who know less. That's worrisome in a country where government derives its powers from the consent of the governed.

TIME is excited to be co-hosting the second annual Chicago Ideas Week beginning Oct. 8. This innovative event brings together an extensive lineup of influential speakers at more than 80 sessions across Chicago. We will be leading sessions on politics and disruption. For a preview of the latter, see the piece on disruptors on page 38, and for more about CIW, visit chicagoideas.com.

I'm also delighted to tell you that TIME won an Emmy on Oct. 1 for our moving documentary video and microsite Beyond 9/11: Portraits of Resilience. You can see the videos at time.com/beyond911.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'He was vying to become the romancer-in-chief'

That's how congressional newspaper *The Hill* described a hotly discussed photo of Mitt Romney in Jon Meacham's Oct. 8 cover story, "The Mormon in Mitt." The article, praised by Salt Lake City's *Deseret News* as an "in-depth look" at how Romney's faith has affected his life, prompted some readers to ask TIME to give equal billing to President Obama's faith. Meanwhile, the 1968 "beefcake photo" (so dubbed by the *Atlantic*) of Romney, then a missionary in France, lying on a beach inside a big love note to his future wife, moved many to ponder the candidate's "big heart" (*New York Post*), "soft side" (CBS) and wooing skills. The pic prompted the *Houston Chronicle's* @KatMcKinley to tweet, "Ann Romney won the man lottery." Bloomberg's @jbarro agreed: "I don't often use the term 'adorbs' with regard to Mitt Romney, but this is adorbs." Inevitably, though, love waned. BuzzFeed invited readers to create their own Mitt love notes. Among the dozens posted: Romney, inside a half-erased heart, with the message "I love 53% of u."



How to Vote

Which of the candidates is being more truthful with the American people? You can cast your vote:

ONLINE

Go to time.com/factwars to vote and see latest results

ON YOUR TABLET

Readers of TIME's tablet editions can vote from inside the app

IN THE MAIL

Tear off this week's cover and check your choice, then mail to:

TIME Magazine
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Get your vote in by Friday, Oct. 12 (vote early—not often!)

THE OPTIMA. OPTIMIZED.

The Optima raised the bar for midsize sedans, and now the Optima Limited is taking things to a whole new level. It comes equipped with a 274-horsepower GDI Turbo engine, paddle shifters, a sport-tuned suspension, front and rear red brake calipers and HID headlights. Plus, J.D. Power and Associates¹ ranked the Optima the most appealing midsize car. The new Optima Limited — it doesn't just meet expectations, it exceeds them. Go to kia.com to learn more.



"Highest Ranked Vehicle Appeal
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¹The Kia Optima received the highest numerical score among midsize cars in a tie in the proprietary J.D. Power and Associates 2012 Automotive Performance, Execution and Layout Study.[™] Study based on responses from 74,759 new-vehicle owners, measuring 233 models and measures opinions after 90 days of ownership. Proprietary study results are based on experiences and perceptions of owners surveyed in February-May 2012. Your experiences may vary. Visit jdpower.com/kia. Optima Hybrid quantities are limited and available only at hybrid-authorized Kia dealers. Check with your local Kia dealer. Optima SX Limited shown.

MAIL

**Mitt's Mormonism**

As a faithful Mormon and conflicted Democrat, I offer my thanks and appreciation for the thoughtful discussion of "The Mormon in Mitt" [Oct. 8]. The piece was highly informative and remarkably fair to both the candidate and his faith.

Robert E. Riggs, OREM, UTAH

Meacham's story was insightful, but the most striking statement was Romney's own from 2007 that "Americans do not respect believers of convenience, those who would jettison their beliefs, even to gain the world." By his own logic, Romney deserves to fail, given that he has reversed course on a variety of issues. And the photo of his polygamous great-granduncle belies GOP assertions that marriage is an unchanging institution consisting always of one man and one woman. Indeed, the Mormons posing as champions of "traditional" marriage today is the height of hypocrisy.

Robert Shaffer, MECHANICSBURG, PA.

Meacham states that "you can't understand how Romney would govern if you don't understand what he believes." Shouldn't the same apply to President Obama?

Albert Sherrill, COLUMBIA, S.C.

Race and the Race

As a proponent of racial progress, I feel uncomfortable with the implications of Touré's "The Magical Negro Falls to Earth" [Oct. 8]. Do I have to feel guilty or ashamed or that I am somehow an opponent of racial progress if I do not vote for Obama this time around? Instead of voting for a candidate on the basis of the color of his skin, shouldn't one vote according to his platform and policies? Isn't that the greatest racial progress?

Zachary Schwartz, LOS ANGELES

TIME.COM

School Fight

When TIME Ideas columnist Andrew J. Rotherham argued that the star power in *Won't Back Down*, in which characters played by Viola Davis and Maggie Gyllenhaal battle a local teachers' union, could help advance education reform, many readers disagreed:

Won't Back Down is at 18% among critics on the Rotten Tomatoes website, which is the exact rating given by critics to *Dude, Where's My Car?*
BONNIE

This is a system designed to benefit unions, not educate the children. Organized crime never had it this good.
SENATORSTING

Public education is to education as public housing is to housing. There's no way to reform it—except the way public housing was finally reformed: by giving rent vouchers.
EMMA

At least [Rotherham] admits the movie is "a schmaltzy takedown of teachers' unions."
KEN LIBBY

Proponents of so-called school reform are, knowingly or unknowingly, skills for big business.
JOHNNYKEASON

If we don't count the students living in poverty, the U.S. ranks in the top 5 in every subject.
THEWALRUSNOW



Won't Back Down stars Davis, left, and Gyllenhaal

**SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT**

► In "Coal, Hard Truths," we overstated the amount of money that coal firm Alpha Natural Resources gave to a group funding anti-Obama ads [Oct. 1]. The correct figure is \$100,000.

WRITE TO US

Send an e-mail: letters@time.com. Please do not send attachments

Send a letter: **TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020.** Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Watch This Space

Among the most striking images in TIME.com's September gallery of celestial photography is this Van Gogh-like aurora—swirling bands of color caused by charged particles from the sun streaming in around the poles—seen on Sept. 3 near Whitehorse, Canada. "Absolutely awesome," tweeted Tara Hutchings. To see more amazing photos from the Month in Space, go to time.com/space.

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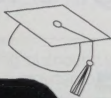
COLLEGE FOR HIM, RETIREMENT FOR YOU

WHERE DO YOU

GIVE

AND WHERE DO YOU

TAKE?



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Briefing

'Couldn't you just go to the future and then come back and kill that Arnold?'

1. **JON STEWART**, host of *The Daily Show*, interviewing *Terminator* star Arnold Schwarzenegger (promoting his new tell-all book), who stated how deeply he regrets the affairs that ended his marriage to Maria Shriver

'There was a massive intelligence failure on behalf of our American friends. However, I do believe that the Americans learn very fast from their mistakes.'

2. **RAMI EL-OBEIDI**, former Libyan intelligence chief, arguing that the assault on the U.S. consulate in Benghazi was carried out by al-Qaeda's North African wing

'It was great to have those guys back. It looked like they knew what they were doing.'

3. **RAY RICE**, running back for the Baltimore Ravens, after the regular NFL referees returned to work; during their short tenure, replacement refs made many calls that incensed fans and players

'It's impossible to retouch women out of reality.'

4. **EWA BJÖRLING**, Swedish Trade Minister, after Swedish furniture colossus Ikea removed women from photos in catalogs shipped to Saudi Arabia

'These practices have no basis in science or medicine, and they will now be relegated to the dustbin of quackery.'

5. **JERRY BROWN**, governor of California, after signing a bill outlawing therapies that claim to turn gay minors into heterosexuals



50%

Percentage of Australia's Great Barrier Reef that has vanished in the past three decades, partly because of higher ocean temperatures

\$2.43 BILLION

Amount Bank of America agreed to pay to settle a shareholder lawsuit over its 2008 Merrill Lynch buyout

13,000

Pieces of clown memorabilia a Florida man inherited from his father-in-law; he plans to open a large museum



6.9 MILLION

TVs in the U.S. that can show 3-D programming—just 2% of the country's more than 330 million sets



Briefing

LightBox

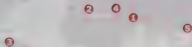


Wandering pack

An Afghan refugee girl stands amid a herd of goats in a field on the outskirts of the Pakistani capital, Islamabad. Nearly a million Afghans remain refugees in Pakistan

Photograph by Muhammed Muheisen—AP
lightbox.time.com





Insider Attacks Take a Toll

The mistrust and tension were visible during a recent trip to Afghanistan's northern Wardak province. As a U.S. patrol wound its way back to its post over barren, brown hills, word passed among the troops that an Afghan patrol would be heading out as they headed in. One service member joked that he hoped the Afghans would not shoot the patrol as it

"The signature attack that we're beginning to see is going to be the insider attack," U.S. and NATO commander General John Allen told *60 Minutes* in an interview that aired Sept. 30. "I'm mad as hell about [insider killings], to be honest with you," he said. "We're willing to sacrifice a lot for this campaign, but we're not willing to be murdered for it." —JOHN WENDLE

'He has always taught me to be my own person.'

BO GUAGUA, 24, defending his father, disgraced Chinese official Bo Xilai. Recently expelled from the Communist Party, the former Chongqing party secretary Bo Xilai is accused of corruption and abuse of power, not to mention involvement in a homicide and adultery. The younger Bo has become infamous in his own right for his lavish lifestyle in Britain and the U.S.





Face of the Past?

3 | VENEZUELA A man walks by a campaign poster of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez in the oil-rich country's sprawling capital, Caracas. Ahead of the presidential election on Oct. 7, Chávez—a charismatic and demagogic leftist—faces the stiffest challenge to his 13-year rule. He is neck and neck with opposition candidate Henrique Capriles, a youthful moderate buoyed by growing disenchantment with Chávez's populist Bolivarian revolution.

Counterrevolution in the Caucasus

4 | GEORGIA Parliamentary elections in this former Soviet republic of nearly 5 million saw a big upset, with the ruling party of President Mikhail Saakashvili—an energetic, pro-Western reformer—trounced by a coalition cobbled together six months ago by billionaire Bidzina Ivanishvili. Here are three reasons Georgia's elections matter:



1

Worldview

The contest had been billed as a clash between pro-Western Atlanticist Saakashvili, above left, and Moscow-friendly Ivanishvili, right, who made his fortune in Russia. The latter is poised to form the next government and is expected to mend ties with Georgia's neighbor to the north.

2

Human rights

Saakashvili's stirring rise to power on the crest of Georgia's 2003 Rose Revolution was eagerly backed by the U.S. and the E.U. But a ghastly series of videos depicting torture in Georgian prisons recently fanned popular anger over his heavy-handed record of fighting crime and corruption.

3

Flash point

In 2008, Saakashvili's government entered a disastrous war with Russia and lost a fifth of the nation's territory. Georgia's attempts since then to join NATO have riled Moscow, but that may no longer be on the agenda.



Maritime Tragedy

5 | CHINA A commuter ferry and a party boat collided near this seaside city on Oct. 1, leading to the deaths of 38 people in one of the worst maritime disasters in Hong Kong history. The accident happened on China's National Day, and one of the boats was carrying passengers to watch fireworks over Hong Kong's Victoria Harbor. Seven crew members have been arrested, and the Hong Kong government declared a day of mourning to remember the dead.

EUROPE

Euro-zone unemployment hit a record high in August, with about 18.2 million people out of work, according to European Union officials. The worst unemployment in the region remains in hard-hit Greece and Spain



Investigators believe human error likely caused the accident

Nation



The Senate Odds. Why a GOP takeover is no longer a sure thing

By Mark Halperin

What appeared to be an almost certain Republican takeover of the U.S. Senate a year ago is now in serious doubt as Democrats in red and purple states, along with suddenly safer incumbents in Ohio and Florida, look to hold their thin majority in the upper chamber. Republicans must net four new seats to gain control if Obama wins or three if Romney prevails.

MISSOURI

Senator **CLAIRE MCCASKILL** (D.) vs. Congressman **Todd Akin** (R.)
Once given up for dead by many Democrats, McCaskill got 2012's biggest political gift when Akin made inexplicable remarks about rape that sent most national Republicans fleeing. Akin declined to step down and has kept the race closer than expected, but McCaskill remains the solid favorite.

NORTH DAKOTA

Former state attorney general **HEIDI HEITKAMP** (D.) vs. Congressman **Rick Berg** (R.)
Berg should be walking away with the race to replace Democratic Senator Kent Conrad, who defied the state's red tilt with a frank and confiding down-home style. But the well-liked Heitkamp has campaigned hard and well and been buttressed by winning TV spots and some Berg missteps.

INDIANA

Treasurer **RICHARD MOURDOCK** (R.) vs. Congressman **Joe Donnelly** (D.)
In a nightmare for Republicans, a once safe seat held by retiring GOP wise man Richard Lugar is very much in play. The disciplined Donnelly has pulled even or ahead in polls, and Republicans are pouring in cash to try to save Tea Party darling Mourdock.

VIRGINIA

Former governor **TIM KAINE** (D.) vs. former governor and Senator **George Allen** (R.)

Two popular men with encyclopedic familiarity with their state face off in the new Old Dominion. The battle to replace retiring Democrat Jim Webb has been as closely fought as it has been expensive, but Kaine's fortunes in state polls have risen of late, along with Obama's.

MONTANA

Senator **JOHN TESTER** (D.) vs. Congressman **Denny Rehberg** (R.)
The Democrat was targeted early on as an endangered species—a member of Barack Obama's party in a super-red state. But as the race has gotten nastier, with negative TV ads and barbed rhetoric, Tester has proved to be a survivor who has created enough distance from the Beltway to hold on.

WISCONSIN

Congresswoman **TAMMY BALDWIN** (D.) vs. former governor **Tommy Thompson** (R.)
Baldwin's bid to keep the seat now held by retiring Democrat Herb Kohl is infused with history: she would be the nation's first openly gay Senator. Thompson's years away from the campaign trail (and time as a D.C. influence peddler) have equalized a race once regarded as a GOP cinch.

CONNECTICUT

Congressman **CHRIS MURPHY** (D.) vs. businesswoman **Linda McMahon** (R.)
In the rare race that is moving in the GOP's direction this year, pro-wrestling executive McMahon has done well in her second bid to take a Nutmeg State Senate seat. The fight to replace the retiring Joe Lieberman may come down to McMahon's deep pockets vs. the state's deep blue leanings.

MASSACHUSETTS

Senator **SCOTT BROWN** (R.) vs. Harvard professor **Elizabeth Warren** (D.)
In this year's marquee matchup Brown has done a good job of keeping Warren on the defensive about her professed Native American heritage, but a booming Obama victory in the Bay State might pull too many Democrats to the polls for the incumbent to avoid elimination.

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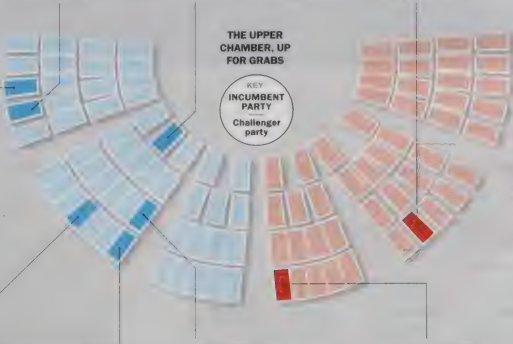
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Do NOT swallow SPIRIVA capsules.

Important Information: Do not swallow SPIRIVA capsules. SPIRIVA capsules should only be used with the HandiHaler device and inhaled through your mouth (oral inhalation).

Read the information that comes with your SPIRIVA HandiHaler before you start using it and each time you refill your prescription. There may be new information. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment.

What is SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

- SPIRIVA HandiHaler is a prescription medicine used each day (a maintenance medicine) to control symptoms of chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), including chronic bronchitis and emphysema.
 - SPIRIVA HandiHaler helps make your lungs work better for 24 hours. SPIRIVA HandiHaler relaxes your airways and helps keep them open. You may start to feel like it is easier to breathe on the first day, but it may take longer for you to feel the full effects of the medicine. SPIRIVA HandiHaler works best and may help make it easier to breathe when you use it every day.
 - SPIRIVA HandiHaler reduces the likelihood of flare-ups and worsening of COPD symptoms (COPD exacerbations). A COPD exacerbation is defined as an increase or new onset of more than one COPD symptom such as cough, mucus, shortness of breath, and wheezing that requires medical treatment beyond your rescue medicine.
- SPIRIVA HandiHaler is not a rescue medicine and should not be used for treating sudden breathing problems.** Your doctor may give you other medicine to use for sudden breathing problems.

It is not known if SPIRIVA HandiHaler is safe and effective in children.

Who should not take SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

Do not use SPIRIVA HandiHaler if you:

- are allergic to tiotropium, ipratropium (Atrovent®), or any of the ingredients in SPIRIVA HandiHaler. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients in SPIRIVA HandiHaler.

Symptoms of a serious allergic reaction to SPIRIVA HandiHaler may include:

- o raised red patches on your skin (hives)
- o itching
- o rash
- o swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing

If you have these symptoms of an allergic reaction, stop taking SPIRIVA HandiHaler and call your doctor right away or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I tell my doctor before using SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

Before taking SPIRIVA HandiHaler, tell your doctor about all your medical conditions, including if you:

- have kidney problems.
- have glaucoma. SPIRIVA HandiHaler may make your glaucoma worse.
- have an enlarged prostate, problems passing urine, or a blockage in your bladder. SPIRIVA HandiHaler may make these problems worse.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if SPIRIVA HandiHaler could harm your unborn baby.
- are breast-feeding or plan to breast-feed. It is not known if SPIRIVA HandiHaler passes into breast milk. You and your doctor will decide if SPIRIVA HandiHaler is right for you while you breast-feed.
- have a severe allergy to milk proteins. Ask your doctor if you are not sure.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines and eye drops, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Some of your other medicines or supplements may affect the way SPIRIVA HandiHaler works. SPIRIVA HandiHaler is an anticholinergic medicine. You should not take other anticholinergic medicines while using SPIRIVA HandiHaler, including ipratropium. Ask your doctor or pharmacist if you are not sure if one of your medicines is an anticholinergic.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

- Use SPIRIVA HandiHaler exactly as prescribed. Use SPIRIVA HandiHaler one time every day.
- Read the "Instructions for Use" at the end of this leaflet before you use SPIRIVA HandiHaler. Talk with your doctor if you do not understand the instructions.
- Do not swallow SPIRIVA capsules.
- Only use SPIRIVA capsules with the HandiHaler device.
- Do not use the HandiHaler device to take any other medicine.
- SPIRIVA HandiHaler comes as a powder in a SPIRIVA capsule that fits the HandiHaler device. Each SPIRIVA capsule, containing only a small amount of SPIRIVA powder, is one full dose of medicine.
- Separate one blister from the blister card. Then take out one of the SPIRIVA capsules from the blister package right before you use it.
- After the capsule is pierced, take a complete dose of SPIRIVA HandiHaler by breathing in the powder by mouth two times, using the HandiHaler device (take 2 inhalations from one SPIRIVA capsule). See the "Instructions for Use" at the end of this leaflet.

- Throw away any SPIRIVA capsule that is not used right away after it is taken out of the blister package. Do not leave the SPIRIVA capsules open to air; they may miss as well.
- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. Do not use SPIRIVA HandiHaler (tiotropium bromide inhalation powder) more than one time every 24 hours.
- If you use more than your prescribed dose of SPIRIVA HandiHaler, call your doctor or a poison control center.

What should I avoid while using SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

- Do not let the powder from the SPIRIVA capsule get into your eyes. Your vision may get blurry and the pupil in your eye may get larger (dilate). If this happens, call your doctor.
- SPIRIVA HandiHaler can cause dizziness and blurred vision. Should you experience these symptoms you should use caution when engaging in activities such as driving a car or operating appliances or other machines.

What are the possible side effects of SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

SPIRIVA HandiHaler can cause serious side effects, including: Allergic reaction. Symptoms may include:

- o raised red patches on your skin (hives)
- o itching
- o rash
- o swelling of the lips, tongue, or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing

If you have these symptoms of an allergic reaction, stop taking SPIRIVA HandiHaler and call your doctor right away or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

- **Sudden narrowing and blockage of the airways into the lungs (bronchospasm).** Your breathing suddenly gets worse.

If you have these symptoms of bronchospasm, stop taking SPIRIVA HandiHaler and call your doctor right away or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

- **New or worsened increased pressure in the eyes (acute narrow-angle glaucoma).** Symptoms of acute narrow-angle glaucoma may include:
 - o eye pain
 - o blurred vision
 - o seeing halos (visual halos) or colored images along with red eyes

Using only eye drops to treat these symptoms may not work. If you have these symptoms, stop taking SPIRIVA HandiHaler and call your doctor right away.

- **New or worsened urinary retention.** Symptoms of blockage in your bladder and/or enlarged prostate may include: difficulty passing urine, painful urination.

If you have these symptoms of urinary retention, stop taking SPIRIVA HandiHaler and call your doctor right away.

Other side effects with SPIRIVA HandiHaler include:

- upper respiratory tract infection
- dry mouth
- sinus infection
- sore throat
- non-specific chest pain
- urinary tract infection
- indigestion
- runny nose
- constipation
- increased heart rate
- blurred vision

These are not all the possible side effects with SPIRIVA HandiHaler. Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How do I store SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

- **Do not store SPIRIVA capsules in the HandiHaler device.**
- Store SPIRIVA capsules in the sealed blister package at room temperature between 68°F to 77°F (20° to 25°C).
- Keep SPIRIVA capsules away from heat and cold (do not freeze).
- Store SPIRIVA capsules in a dry place. Throw away any unused SPIRIVA capsules that have been open to air.

Ask your doctor or pharmacist if you have any questions about storing your SPIRIVA capsules.

Keep SPIRIVA HandiHaler, SPIRIVA capsules, and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General information about SPIRIVA HandiHaler

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in Patient Information leaflets. Do not use SPIRIVA HandiHaler for a purpose for which it has not been prescribed. Do not give SPIRIVA HandiHaler to other people even if they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them.

For more information about SPIRIVA HandiHaler, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about SPIRIVA HandiHaler that is written for health professionals.

For more information about SPIRIVA HandiHaler, go to www.SPIRIVA.com or call Boehringer Ingelheim Pharmaceuticals, Inc. at 1-800-542-6257 or (TTY) 1-800-459-9906.

What are the ingredients in SPIRIVA HandiHaler?

Active ingredient: tiotropium Inactive ingredient: lactose monohydrate

If you or someone you know needs help paying for medicine, call 1-888-APRIL NOW (1-888-477-2669). Or go to www.pparc.org.



Partnership for
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Zena Patel @zena_patel

2d

The only thing worse than kids giving up on school, is if we give up on them. #makebetterhappen

Economy

Off the Runway Inside the business of local fashion weeks

By Feifei Sun

A GLAMOROUS MODEL CLUMPS DOWN the runway. Photographers snap. Fashion editors applaud. And for a moment, it seems as if all eyes in the couture world are on... Knoxville, Tenn.?

Such is the burgeoning business of smaller-town fashion weeks. For decades, the world's clothing trends stemmed from seasonal spectacles in just four cities: New York, London, Milan and Paris. But in recent years, Dallas, Istanbul, Knoxville and others have launched alternatives to hype local models and retailers—and secure a fraction of the \$865 million that New York Fashion Week generates for the Big Apple each year, according to Mayor Michael Bloomberg. “Yes, fashion buyers will still go to New York or Europe,” admits Brian Hill, director of Phoenix Fashion Week. “But we want them to stock their stores with our designers too.”

It's a lofty goal. Although couture is more accessible than ever (see Lanvin's much adored collaboration with H&M), fashion-world snobbery persists. In Knoxville, for example, even the local models “don't take us seriously,” says Jaime Hemsley, who spearheaded the city's inaugural fashion week. Meanwhile, Midwest Fashion Week, which begins in Indianapolis on Oct. 17, has yet to turn a substantial profit. “Most of our supporters are blue collar workers,” explains Berny Martin, the program's CEO. “We still have to teach them about these local designers, the whole business of fashion.”

There is at least one success story, though. After Silvia Bours showed her designs at last year's Phoenix Fashion Week, her prom-style dresses were picked up by Zappos. The rest, for now, consider the experience reward enough. “I knew our community fashion week wouldn't be like New York's,” Hemsley says. “But put loud music, pretty people and cocktails in a room, and it's going to be a lot of fun.”

Michael Costello's flowy creations stole the show at last year's Portland Fashion Week

How fashion week stacks up in ...

1 | PORTLAND, ORE.

Designers: 20

Attendees: 5,000

Production cost: \$250,000

Local flair: Solar-paneled runways reflect the city's myriad green initiatives

Breakout designer: Michael Costello, formerly of Project Runway

2 | INDIANAPOLIS

Designers: 18–30

Attendees: 2,300

Production cost: \$50,000

Local flair: Nearby farms and wineries provide refreshments

Breakout designer: Melissa Tabor, who received heavy local press coverage

3 | PHOENIX

Designers: 32

Attendees: 6,000

Production cost: \$250,000

Local flair: Events are staffed by area college students

Breakout designer: Silvia Bours, whose wares are on Zappos

4 | KNOXVILLE, TENN.

Designers: 20

Attendees: 4,000

Production cost: \$60,000

Local flair: Orange dresses nod to the official color of the University of Tennessee

Breakout designer: Kelly Jones, who makes her chain-mail outfits by hand





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Health&Science

Spanking in the Schools Should teachers be allowed to paddle students?

By Alice Park

Fifteen-year-old Taylor Santos let a classmate copy her homework, and she learned the hard way never to do it again. Santos, a student at Springtown High School in Texas, was punished by a vice principal with a swift swat to her bottom using a wooden paddle. The spanking left blisters and forced her to sleep on her side that night.

As upset as Santos' mother was, however, it wasn't the spanking, which she had consented to, that led her to complain to the school board. It was the severity of the punishment and the fact that it was delivered by a male administrator, contrary to the district's policy that only teachers of the same gender as the student may mete out corporal punishment.

Across the U.S., Santos' case and that of another student in the same school have fired up parental passions over whether corporal punishment should be allowed in schools at all. Nineteen states permit it, but researchers say there is little evidence that spanking actually works to change children's behavior for the better. In fact, kids spanked by their parents tend to be more aggressive than other kids and are likelier to develop behavioral problems as they get older; some studies show that corporal punishment

can even lead to lower IQs. "The more kids are spanked, the more problematic their behavior is," says Elizabeth Gershoff of the University of Texas at Austin, who has conducted the most comprehensive analysis to date of studies on corporal punishment and its outcomes.

Still, some experts say that because most of the research on spanking focuses on punishment at home, not in schools, it's unfair to assume the effects are the same. It's also possible that the studies aren't measuring the impact of the punishment at all but instead simply reflect the fact that disobedient children who are disciplined are more likely to have behavioral problems in the first place. These experts point to studies showing that even non-physical alternatives like verbal scolding don't lead to positive changes in behavior among children.

Then there's the issue of finding the line between discipline and abuse, which is hard enough for parents punishing their children to define and defend, never mind for non-family members

This paddle from Shady Hill Elementary in Ocala, Fla., is an effective deterrent to misbehavior, says the school's former principal

Schools continue to spank despite waning public support

19

states with
existing
policies



23%

of adults
support spanking
by teachers

94%

1980s

Adult acceptance of
all spanking has
fallen over the years

71%

2004

like teachers. That's what prompted Santos' mother to speak out; the vice principal, she feels, just went too far.

In response, the Springtown school board decided to make changes to its corporal punishment policy. Under the old rules, parents had to opt out of corporal punishment for their kids; now they must provide written permission for it to be administered. And parents can specify whether they want the punishment to be delivered by a male or female teacher, although an official of the same gender as the student must witness the punishment no matter what—meaning two adults will always be present.

For some experts, having to go to such lengths to make corporal punishment acceptable supports the idea that it doesn't belong in schools at all. They say exposing children to any type of violence, at home or in school, can simply be too harmful.

Dozens of countries have taken a simpler approach, banning all forms of corporal punishment against kids, even if it's administered by parents. While the U.S. Congress is considering such a ban in schools, the final vote—on the Hill and in the classroom—is uncertain.

Milestones



DIED

Arthur Sulzberger. New York Times publisher

By Alex S. Jones

Arthur Ochs "Punch" Sulzberger is most celebrated—and rightly so—for his decision in 1971 to publish the Pentagon Papers, an archive detailing how the government had lied to the American people about the Vietnam War from the start. Punch was not a gifted journalist or a great editor. He was, however, something out of a Frank Capra movie—a man with a deep sense of humor and profound common sense who also had guts. It took great courage to publish the classified documents in defiance of the government, which was a seminal moment for American journalism.

Sulzberger, who died Sept. 29 at 86, had a sly sense of humor. When he was racked by indecision before publishing the Pentagon Papers, he told the *Times*' top editor, Abe Rosenthal, that he wanted to read them. Rosenthal wheeled in several shopping carts with thousands of pages of documents. Undaunted, Sulzberger started in. "It was then I learned," he would later say, "that it is possible to read and sleep at the same time." It was this modest, sensible man who changed American journalism.

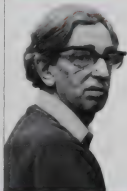
Jones, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, is the author of *Losing the News*

DIED

Eric Hobsbawm Historian of the ages

When Eric Hobsbawm died on Oct. 1 at 95, he was eulogized even by his ideological foes as the greatest historian of his time. Though the Cambridge-educated Briton was an unrepentant Communist who refused to quit the party even after the horrors of Stalin became clear, his work showed little trace of dogma. As a historian, he was interested less in the actions of great men than in the lives of ordinary people. Their struggles are at the heart of his most famous work, the best-selling four-volume *Ages* series chronicling the period from the French Revolution to 1991. Hobsbawm's histories, always written in taut, lucid prose, were Marxist in Marxism's most ideal form: cosmopolitan, humanist and rooted in the study of societies from the bottom up. They changed forever how we try to and should tell stories.

—ISHAAN THAROOR



DIED

Barry Commoner Uncommon ecologist

"Dr. Commoner, are you a serious candidate, or are you just running on the issues?" So went a reporter's question to the biologist, environmentalist and chronic gadfly during his quixotic presidential campaign in 1980. Commoner, who died on Sept. 30 at 95, won just 234,000 votes, but he was never afraid of long odds and never shied away from the issues. His work on the dangers of atmospheric radiation helped spur the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and he was a key figure in the first Earth Day, in 1970. As a teacher and activist, he helped create the modern environmental movement, his philosophy informed by a simple adage: Everything is connected.

—BRYAN WALSH

DIED

Barbara Ann Scott, 84, who became the first and thus far only Canadian to win the Olympic title in singles figure skating when she took the gold medal in the 1948 Games.

DIED

Stephen Frankfort, 80, Madison Avenue advertising executive who helped transform TV ads from straight sales pitches into creative productions.



AGREED
Major League Baseball, to an eight-year

broadcasting deal with Fox and Turner Sports; the deal, worth an estimated \$800 million annually to the league, ensures that Fox will broadcast the World Series through 2021.

DIED

Yvonne Mounsey, 93, who popularized many roles as a principal dancer with the New York City Ballet and then founded the Westside Ballet school in California.

ANNOUNCED

That Seth MacFarlane, comedian and creator of *Family Guy*, will host the 85th Academy Awards; past hosts include Bob Hope, Billy Crystal and Jon Stewart.

DIED

Eugene Genovese, 82, historian of the American South who argued that the "paternalism" of slavery provided slaves some ways of retaining their humanity.



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prius l

Options shown



shug prius
prius c



big prius
prius v



plug prius
prius plug-in

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After Benghazi, Is al-Qaeda Back? Terrorist cells continue to spread, but they now face bigger problems than the U.S.

WHEN TRYING TO UNDERSTAND A strange action by the U.S. government, I have found it's usually best explained by incompetence rather than conspiracy. Republicans have claimed that the Obama Administration deliberately deceived the American public about the terrorist attack in Benghazi by describing it as a spontaneous mob uprising rather than a planned operation. But if the Administration knew from the start that it was a terrorist attack, did it really think that it could conceal this from the world? That the Libyan government would make no investigation? That there would be no eyewitnesses in a public place where hundreds had gathered? A far more plausible explanation is that in the chaotic aftermath of the attack, the Administration—too hastily and without proper analysis—put out the reports it was receiving. That's clumsy, but it's not treason.

The larger issue that the attack raises, however, which is fair game for a campaign conversation, is what the events in Benghazi tell us about terrorist organizations, in particular al-Qaeda. After years of being in retreat, is al-Qaeda back?

After 9/11, we all worried about the spread of al-Qaeda and its ideology. There were attacks in Bali, Madrid, London, Riyadh and Istanbul. But in fact, governments around the world had begun taking the group seriously, tracking its money, chasing its people and attacking its bases. Soon al-Qaeda was unable to carry out its signature operations—against high-value U.S. targets like ships and embassies and other government installations. So instead of striking where it wanted, al-Qaeda—or groups operating in its name—attacked where possible. This meant hitting

nightclubs, cafés, train stations and hotels. And that meant killing locals, not Americans. All of a sudden, Muslims, who had not been too exercised about al-Qaeda, began distancing themselves from it, especially in places like Saudi Arabia that had been critical sources of funding for the group.

Meanwhile, the pressure intensified. The Obama Administration dramatically ramped up counterterrorism in Afghanistan—and more important, Pakistan—and destroyed the top



leadership of the organization, including, of course, Osama bin Laden. Facing this onslaught, al-Qaeda has been shattered and has become less a coherent, centrally controlled group and more a brand, lending its name—and perhaps a little know-how—to militants in other countries. There is, however, a danger of overreacting to these new “al-Qaeda” offshoots. Remember bin Laden's words: “All that we have to do is to send two *mujahedin* to the furthest point east to raise a piece of cloth on which is written AL-QAEDA in order to make the generals race there to cause America to suffer human, economic and political losses.”

The strongest of the new groups was

al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), based in Yemen. Newer branches have sprung up in Somalia, Mali and now perhaps Libya. The group that appears to have planned the Benghazi attack seems to have a very tenuous connection to al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) but not al-Qaeda central. In all these cases, however, the militants have followed a similar path: find a weak state and operate within that territory, claiming a link to al-Qaeda. The lesson of Libya is that as states fail, terrorists succeed.

But as these groups rise, they come under fire, and not just from the U.S. After a Yemeni government attack, AQAP has lost its stronghold in the south of that country. The Somali government, along with forces from neighboring Kenya, has begun to battle Somalia's homegrown jihadis. As AQIM grows, it will find itself under pressure. A senior U.S. official told me that France had determined that this group—operating in former French colonies—is France's No. 1 national-security threat.

The main reason al-Qaeda faces a more challenging future is the Arab Spring. Al-

Qaeda came into being as a radical movement opposed to repressive (and secular) governments. It is now facing many democratic (and somewhat Islamist) governments. Those who have firmly and in some cases eloquently denounced al-Qaeda and its ideology include the elected leaders of Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Turkey—most of whom are Islamist in some sense. They have the most important form of power—legitimacy with their people—and when they declare al-Qaeda un-Islamic and unrepresentative, it matters. Al-Qaeda is losing something much more important than the battle; it is losing the argument.



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Joe Klein



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A Tea Party Test Case

A headstrong conservative faces an Iraq-war heroine in a pivotal House race

IHATE MEETINGS LIKE THIS!" ILLINOIS Congressman Joe Walsh shouted in frustration. A small-business man named Ted Kozlowski, a defense contractor, was explaining how he'd had to lay off nearly half his workforce because funding for one of his products, a machine-gun cradle, had been mysteriously suspended in February. "It's ridiculous what Washington is doing to you," Walsh went on to say. "They change the rules of the road every six months." A small problem here, though: Walsh, one of the more flagrant members of the Tea Party caucus, lives at ground zero of the congressional mess. He has proudly opposed every attempt at a budget compromise that would clarify the status of Kozlowski's funding. He told me he would continue to vote against any deal that raises tax rates. If he is re-elected,

That could be a problem too. After he was elected in 2010, Walsh embraced the notion that he was a poster boy for the Tea Party, and there was a fair amount of truth to that: he had won a shocking victory over a Democratic incumbent in the Chicago suburbs, in the heart of blue-state Illinois. He proceeded to make a lot of noise, with an untoward candor that was less outrageous than that of another Tea Party poster child, Representative Allen West of Florida (who is also in trouble this year) but still offensive enough to women, homosexuals and Muslims to make national headlines. The question is, Will Walsh be a Tea Party exemplar of a different sort this year? If he and West and some other high-profile Tea Partyers lose, will the Republican Party take a moderating lesson from that—even if, as is likely, it retains control of the House?

The deck is certainly stacked against Walsh. His district has been redrawn by

the heavily Democratic Illinois legislature. It now includes a significant minority population. And he has a formidable opponent: Tammy Duckworth, an Iraq-war veteran who lost both her legs when the Black Hawk helicopter she was piloting was hit by a rocket-propelled grenade. Walsh has continued to make a fool of himself during the campaign, at one point saying Duckworth wasn't a "true hero" because she talked about her



service all the time and real heroes don't do that. He also warned that Muslim terrorists were in the district—he specified three towns—looking to kill Americans. He told me he was talking about a national problem, but there were several attacks on local Muslim sites in the days after he made his comments. "When you say racial things," Duckworth says, "radical changes can happen."

Walsh does have a few advantages, though. He has become a superstar of super PACs in this race, four of which have put up ads supporting him, and together they are outpacing Duckworth significantly. He's also a natural politi-

cian, fearless and gregarious, with the courage of his extreme convictions—and a few policy surprises. He told me, for example, that while he would oppose any budget deal that raises tax rates, he does support the complete elimination of such popular tax loopholes as the mortgage interest and charity deductions. He has also favored cutting the Pentagon budget and wants an immediate end to the war in Afghanistan. "He's a very charismatic and appealing guy," Duckworth told me.

Duckworth is charismatic and appealing too. "I love sexy airplanes," she told a group of students at a local community college. "But we shouldn't be funding the F-35 [fighter jet]. We're not going to be getting into dogfights with the Chinese anytime soon, and we can kick their butts with our superior pilots and our F-18s and F-22s."

"The only thing she talks about is her military service," Walsh told me, and there is some truth to that, even though Duckworth has a full roster of moderate-liberal policy positions she can defend fluently. But the military—not so much her injuries as the culture—clearly has been the defining experience of her life. She signed up for ROTC in graduate school and "fell in love" with military life in boot camp. This is something I hear frequently from service members: the physical pain and psychological suffering inflicted by drill instructors create a bond, a band of brothers (and now sisters) far more satisfying than the anomie of civilian life.

In that way, the military stands at the opposite end of the social spectrum from the libertarian individualism of the Tea Party. It is all about banding together for the greater good. There's a can-do, complete-the-mission-and-leave-no-comrade-behind ethos. "I'd love to see some Republican veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan get elected this year," Duckworth told me. "I'm sure we could work together and get things done. We've been trained for that."

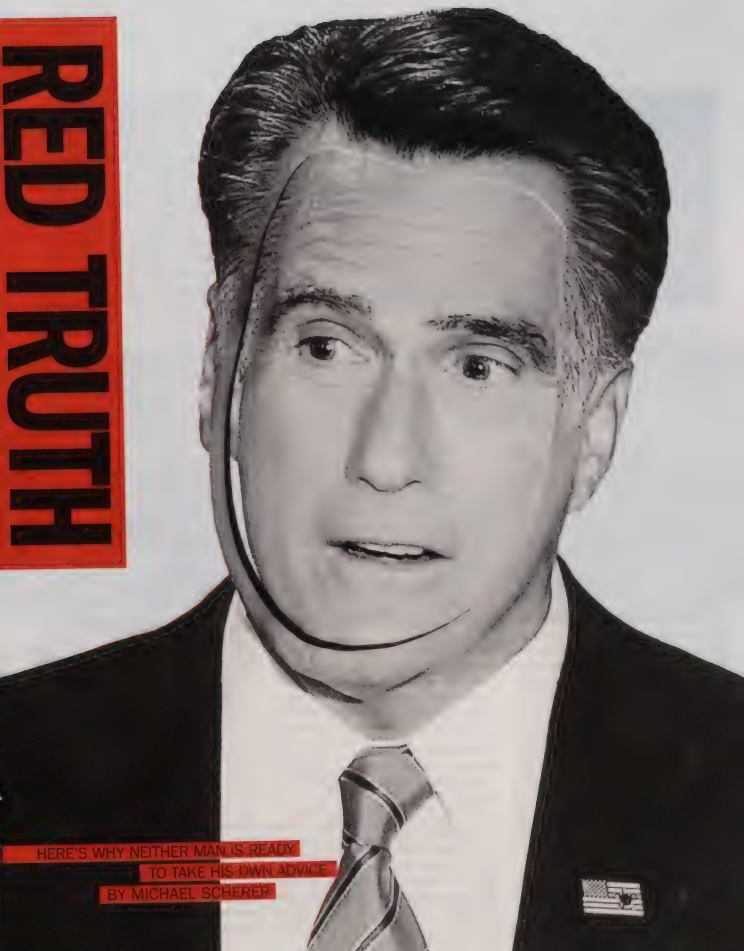


The Race

BLUE TRUTH

BOTH CANDIDATES SAY
WHITE HOUSE HOPEFULS SHOULD
TALK STRAIGHT WITH VOTERS.

RED TRUTH



HERE'S WHY NEITHER MAN IS READY
TO TAKE HIS OWN ADVICE
BY MICHAEL SCHERER



Nyhan, a Dartmouth professor who studies falsehood in politics, puts it, "The incentives for truth telling are weaker in many ways than they have been in the post-Watergate era."

At the same time, chances are high that your neighbors mostly agree with you and that the media you choose to consume rarely rattles your outlook. The pundits on MSNBC, the Huffington Post and the editorial page of the *New York Times* do a fine job of calling out the deceptions of Romney, but if you want to hear where Obama is going wrong, you might be better served on the Drudge Report, Fox News or the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page.

pronounced among those with college educations than among those without. The President is a Christian. There is no credible information to suggest otherwise. But for many caught up in the passions of politics, the facts are not conclusive.

Instead the public increasingly takes issue with those who deliver the facts. Gallup recently recorded the highest levels of distrust in the media since it began measuring this sentiment in 1998. Only 40% of the country, including just 26% of Republicans and 31% of independents, express a great deal or a fair amount of trust in the mass media to report the news fully, accurately and fairly. "In

Two Men, Two Realities

TO SEE JUST HOW EASY IT IS TO BE FOOLED, one need only visit the controlled confines of the university laboratory. In the spring of 2006, Nyhan and his research partner Jason Reifler of Georgia State University gathered conservative and liberal students to test their resistance to factual information. They asked the group to read an article that included President George W. Bush's claim that his tax cuts had increased revenue for the U.S. Treasury, which was provably false. Then they added a factual correction: the Bush tax cuts led to a three-year decline in tax revenue, from \$2 trillion in 2000 to \$1.8 trillion in 2003.



Romney misrepresented Obama's "middle of the road" immigration and the abortion

Obama has misrepresented Romney's views on immigration and abortion

"We don't collect news to inform us. We collect news to affirm us," explains Republican pollster Frank Luntz, who has been studying the 2012 electorate in swing state focus groups. "It used to be that we disagreed on the solution but agreed on the problem. Now we don't even agree on the problem." All of this contributes to an environment in which, for some voters, unwelcome facts are simply filtered out and flushed away.

Human beings are simply more willing to believe falsehoods that confirm their worldview. In July, 17% of voters told pollsters for the Pew Research Center that Obama is a Muslim, an increase from just 12% in October 2008. Within the GOP, this fiction was believed by 30%, up from 16% in 2008, and the increase was more

pronounced among those with college educations than among those without. The President is a Christian. There is no credible information to suggest otherwise. But for many caught up in the passions of politics, the facts are not conclusive.

The result is a landscape where accuracy is largely in the eye of the beholder. If you ask voters which candidate is fooling the public, the answers vary by political disposition. A recent poll by the *Washington Post* and ABC News found that 76% of Romney voters believe Obama is "intentionally misleading" voters. As it happened, the exact same share of Obama supporters believe Romney is "intentionally misleading." Only 17% of Romney voters and 12% of Obama voters were willing to say their own man had deceived.

The correction worked among liberals, but among conservatives it produced a curious backfire effect: conservatives were nearly twice as likely to say the Bush tax cuts increased revenue after they had been told this was not true. Such distortions are not limited to the conservative mind. The researchers presented an article showing John Kerry's claim from 2004 that he would "lift the ban on stem-cell research" imposed by Bush, followed by corrective information: Bush never actually banned stem-cell research; he prevented federal money from funding research on a subset of embryos. The true information had a corrective effect for conservatives and moderates but no impact on liberals. Once again, personal views had intervened. "The more we care about politics and the

WHO LIES MORE? YET ANOTHER CLOSE CONTEST

To find out who shaded the truth most, TIME asked each campaign for a list of its rival's worst deceptions. After examining those claims and consulting independent fact-checking websites, we selected some of the most prominent falsehoods and prevarications of the 2012 campaign*—at least so far. Compared with the Obama campaign's, the Romney operation's misstatements are frequently more brazen. But sometimes the most effective lie is the one that is closest to the truth, and Obama's team has often outdone Romney's in the dark art of subtle distortion. On both sides, the dishonesty is "about as bad as I've seen," says veteran journalist Brooks Jackson, director of FactCheck.org.

The lying game unfolds on many levels. Campaigns obfuscate, twist the truth and exaggerate. They exploit complexity. Most of all, they look for details—real or unreal—that validate our suspicions. There was no Obama "apology tour," but the canard flourished because some voters are wary about his sense of American exceptionalism. If you read the whole paragraph, the President's "You didn't build that" riff seems a lot more reasonable, but context fell victim to a perception that Obama disdains free enterprise. Bain was never the beneficiary of a taxpayer bailout, and yet 75% of Americans believe the contrary, partly because Democrats have cast Romney as the kind of plutocrat for whom the rules are rigged.

Even for the most open-minded and informed voters, truth is often subjective. Discerning it is that much harder when the campaigns cater to two different groups of voters who seem to prefer two very different sets of facts.

—ALEX ALTMAN

*These quotes come from the candidates or campaign ads they personally approved, with the exception of the Obama team's claim about Bain Consulting, which was repeated by Vice President Biden

'We do not need an outsourcing pioneer in the Oval Office.'

REALITY Romney has not been an outsourcing pioneer in the Oval Office.

VERDICT



Obama has 'a balanced plan to reduce our deficit by \$4 trillion over the next decade.'

REALITY Obama's exact \$4 trillion deficit plan is not a balanced plan. It would require cutting \$1.5 trillion in spending and raising \$2.5 trillion in revenue. The plan is not a balanced plan because it would require cutting \$1.5 trillion in spending and raising \$2.5 trillion in revenue.

VERDICT The plan is not a balanced plan.

'My opponent says the Arizona law should be "a model for the nation."

REALITY Romney's Arizona law is not a model for the nation. It is a controversial immigration law that has been criticized by many states and the federal government.

VERDICT The law is not a model for the nation.

OBAMA CAMPAIGN

'After a decade of decline, this country has created over half a million new manufacturing jobs.'

REALITY

VERDICT

'BOTH ROMNEY AND RYAN BACKED PROPOSALS TO OUTLAW ABORTION, EVEN IN CASES OF RAPE AND INCEST.'

REALITY Romney and Ryan have not backed proposals to outlaw abortion, even in cases of rape and incest.

VERDICT Romney and Ryan have not backed proposals to outlaw abortion, even in cases of rape and incest.

'WE'VE DOUBLED OUR USE OF RENEWABLE ENERGY.'

REALITY Obama's administration has not doubled the use of renewable energy.

VERDICT Obama's administration has not doubled the use of renewable energy.

VERDICT Obama's administration has not doubled the use of renewable energy.

'The way Bain Consulting reorganized cost the government and American taxpayers \$10 million.'

REALITY Bain Consulting did not cost the government and American taxpayers \$10 million.

VERDICT Bain Consulting did not cost the government and American taxpayers \$10 million.

'The U.S. is less dependent on foreign oil than at any time in the past two decades.'

REALITY The U.S. is not less dependent on foreign oil than at any time in the past two decades.

VERDICT The U.S. is not less dependent on foreign oil than at any time in the past two decades.

VERDICT The U.S. is not less dependent on foreign oil than at any time in the past two decades.

'Romney would give millionaires another tax break and raise taxes on middle-class families by up to \$2,000 a year.'

REALITY

VERDICT Romney would give millionaires another tax break and raise taxes on middle-class families by up to \$2,000 a year.

VERDICT Romney would give millionaires another tax break and raise taxes on middle-class families by up to \$2,000 a year.

'What rights would Romney deny [for gay couples]? Adopting children together.'

REALITY Romney would deny rights to gay couples and adopting children together.

VERDICT Romney would deny rights to gay couples and adopting children together.

ROMNEY CAMPAIGN

1 'We are only inches away from no longer being a free economy.'

REALITY The conservative Heritage Foundation ranks the U.S. in the top 10 for economic freedom worldwide, ahead of Japan, Germany and the U.K.

VERDICT Highly misleading

5 'President Obama's trillion-dollar federal takeover of the U.S. health care system is a disaster.'

REALITY Under Obamacare, private doctors and hospitals will continue to deliver nearly all care. Most Americans with private, employer-based insurance will keep their coverage.

VERDICT False. The months all the law are up to debate, but Obama care is not a "federal takeover of the U.S. health care system."

7 'Where did all the Obama stimulus money go? ... Electric cars from Finland.'

REALITY The Administration made a \$529 million loan to Fisker Automotive, which has a plant in Finland, but the money moved through a Bush-era program, not the stimulus. In any case, much of the money has been spent in the U.S.

VERDICT The claim is misleading

9 'He was President for the last three and a half years, did nothing on immigration.'

REALITY Obama lobbied for the Dream Act in Congress, where it was blocked by Republicans. In June, the President issued an executive order protecting young illegal immigrants from deportation.

VERDICT Untrue. No law was passed, but Obama wasn't idle on immigration.

2 'I HAVE A PLAN TO CREATE 12 MILLION NEW JOBS.'

REALITY Independent economic forecasters predict the economy will gain about 12 million jobs over the next four years regardless of who is President.

VERDICT Misleading. There's less to this pledge than meets the eye.

3 'Under Obama's plan [for welfare], you wouldn't have to work and wouldn't have to train for a job. They just send you your welfare check.'

REALITY Obama granted waivers to states that asked for flexibility in making welfare-to-work more effective at ending dependency.

VERDICT Romney's claim is false.

6 'President Obama told America that if Congress approved his plan to borrow nearly a trillion dollars, he would hold unemployment below 8%.'

REALITY Obama never said that, but before he took office, two of his economists predicted that a large stimulus might have that effect.

VERDICT Romney's assertion is misleading.

4 'Romney's plan? Reverse Obama's defense cuts, strengthen our military, create over 700,000 jobs for Florida.'

REALITY The cuts are part of a 2011 debt-reduction deal agreed to by the White House and congressional Republicans, including Paul Ryan.

VERDICT Blaming Obama alone for the cuts is misleading.

8 'We have to open up markets for our goods ... [Obama] has opened up none.'

REALITY Obama signed previously negotiated trade deals with Colombia, Panama and South Korea.

VERDICT False.

10 'The fact that Obama is claiming it is unconstitutional for Ohio to allow servicemen and -women extended early-voting privileges during the state's early-voting period is an outrage.'

REALITY Obama tried to restore early voting for all Ohioans.

VERDICT Misleading.

more it becomes central to our worldview, the more threatening it becomes to admit that we are wrong or our side is wrong," Nyhan concludes. The studies show that facts that contradict our biases actually have the effect of reinforcing them.

Even more factual information might seem like a good solution to this problem. But the reality is more complex. Researchers have demonstrated in similar conditions that pieces of false information, once heard, establish themselves as "belief echoes" that can persist even after a falsehood is corrected. There is also a tendency among those with more information to be more biased against reality. In 2006, Danielle Shani, then a Princeton graduate student, analyzed a large-scale election survey taken in 2000 that asked voters for evaluations of the Clinton presidency while gauging their levels of political knowledge. She found that more-knowledgeable voters actually showed more bias. Democrats and Republicans, for example, differed predictably on whether the Clinton presidency had improved or damaged national security. But among highly informed Democrats and Republicans, the differences were more stark. When asked if the budget deficit had increased under President Clinton, those with more information exhibited a bias 5.5 times larger than those who knew less.

The bias extends to how people digest news. In a 2007 study published in the *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, participants were asked to rate the bias contained in a single news report that was alternately identified as originating from Fox News, CNN and a fictional television station. Simply changing the brand attached to the report changed people's views of the information. People made assumptions about the veracity of the news independent of what the news actually reported. "As a result, individuals sometimes create bias even when none exists," concluded authors Matthew Baum of Harvard and Phil Gussin of UCLA. The effect was stronger among those who knew more about politics.

One hint as to why this is the case can be found in other research on the interaction between emotion and fact. Some of the same emotional impulses that lead voters to seek out more information—concern, insecurity and fear, for example—skew their ability to accept accurate information. A 2008 Nyhan and Reifler study asked some research subjects to write a few



sentences about a time when they had upheld a value that was important to them. The idea was to get subjects feeling good about themselves before they had their political biases challenged by facts. The exercise worked: when presented with evidence that the 2006 Iraq troop surge had reduced the number of insurgent attacks there, supporters of withdrawing U.S. forces from the country were more likely to accept the validity of the surge after a self-affirming exercise than without the exercise. Self-confidence allowed people to overcome their biases.

The Fact-Checking Movement

CAMPAIGN STRATEGISTS, ESPECIALLY AT the presidential level, know well just how easy it is to fool the public. No ad goes out without significant data from polls and focus groups to ensure its effectiveness. Glenn Kessler, who writes the Fact Checker column at the *Washington Post*, tells a story about the head of a super PAC who chewed him out after Kessler called him on a deceptive ad. "This was after he was screaming at me about something I had written, and he laughed and said, 'I actually don't give a hoot what you say, because these ads work.'"

This is the challenge now facing the political press, which has largely embraced the cause of correcting politicians when they run astray. As recently as the 1980s, journalists stayed on the sidelines when politicians fibbed, preferring to report on the back-and-forth rather than get involved in adjudicating the underlying merits of each claim. There were some early efforts to fact-check Ronald Reagan, who argued, among other things, that vegetation was the major source of air pollution. But when George H.W. Bush ran an ad in 1988 falsely claiming that Michael Dukakis "opposed virtually every defense system we have developed," including the Stealth bomber, his charge went mostly unchallenged. Dukakis did support the Stealth bomber and other defense systems.

The move to push for more accuracy began in earnest in the 1990s and evolved into the fact-checking outfits of today. It is grueling, sometimes messy work, given the complexity of the claims made in the course of a campaign day. Obama routinely says, for example, that use of renewable energy doubled under his watch, which is true only if you define renewable to mean just wind and solar energy. Rom-

ney claims that he can cut income tax rates 20% and still raise the same revenue with the same progressivity by eliminating deductions and loopholes. Using traditional budget scoring, this is not possible, though some conservative economists say the cuts should be judged outside traditional metrics, assuming new economic growth that would make the math add up. But there is much debate over the legitimacy of such predictions. "Truth is not a binary," says Bill Adair, who founded PolitiFact, a site that employs 35 reporters and won the Pulitzer Prize for its coverage of the 2008 campaign. "We recognize that truth is in shades of gray and different interpretations can be valid."

But even when there is little gray area, the fact checkers often find themselves sidelined or, worse, used as tools of dishonest campaigns. Both the Romney and Obama operations often cite fact checkers to underscore their opponents' deceptions but have resisted changing their own behavior. More and more, the worst deceptions fly under the radar, with micro-targeted mailings and radio spots that can escape the attention of fact checkers. One of the most deceptive spots of the 2008 campaign was an Obama radio ad that claimed McCain "stood in the way" of stem-cell research despite McCain's long record of support. Though it's easy to track down television spots posted on YouTube, reporters and fact checkers then had to find out about the ad from the McCain campaign.

In late September, Brooks Jackson, a veteran CNN reporter who runs FactCheck.org, convened his colleagues, including Kessler, Adair and Jim Drinkard of the Associated Press, to discuss their craft at the National Press Club. "Do you see places where either campaign has paid

a price for misrepresenting facts?" Jackson asked them. Several seconds of silence followed. "Well, that's kind of depressing," Jackson said. Eventually, Kessler chimed in by noting that Romney has stopped saying in stump speeches that the U.S. is the only country on earth where hands are put over hearts during the national anthem. Kessler disproved the claim with YouTube video from other countries. "He dropped that the very next day," Kessler said. Not exactly a huge score.

The Question of Character

THE GREAT IRONY IN THIS CURIOUS CHAPTER in American politics is that both campaigns have made telling the truth a central message and a core qualification in each man's case to be President. In the run-up to the first of three debates in October, both campaigns charged that deceptions by the other guy would be a window into his essential character. "He's trying to fool people," Romney told reporters on his plane. "Facts will matter," said Obama aide David Axelrod in a memo in response.

As a strategic matter, this makes sense; the best defense is often a strong offense. But when politicians speak of truth telling in such high-minded terms, they risk hypocrisy. In the final weeks of September, Obama seemed to acknowledge this risk by admitting in an interview with CBS News that his campaign sometimes goes "overboard" and that this is something that "happens in politics." Romney has refused to waver. "We've been absolutely spot on," he told CNN.

The October debates will offer one of the last chances to expose falsehoods. "What debates are really good at is dispensing a caricature of the other side," explains Kathleen Hall Jamieson, a communications professor at the University of Pennsylvania who helped found FactCheck.org. "Except for debates, you don't get a lot of two-sided information."

But when the final book is written on this campaign, one-sided deception will still have played a central role. As it stands, the very notions of fact and truth are employed in American politics as much to distort as to reveal. And until the voting public demands something else, not just from the politicians they oppose but also from the ones they support, there is little reason to suspect that will change.

—WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ALTMAN AND ALEX ROGERS/WASHINGTON ■

**FACT CHECKERS
OFTEN FIND THEM-
SELVES SIDELINED
OR, WORSE, USED AS
TOOLS OF DISHONEST
CAMPAIGNS**

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The Stateless Statesman

Despite criticism from every quarter, Mahmoud Abbas' slow, nonviolent campaign for Palestinian statehood just might be working **By Karl Vick/Jerusalem**





A YEAR AGO, HE CAME HOME A HERO.

But that was a year ago.

Then, Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian National Authority President, stood at the green marble rostrum of the U.N. General Assembly and asked for something he knew he could not get—full membership in the U.N. for a country, Palestine, that did not yet exist—and the room went wild.

A year later, on Sept. 27, Abbas stood in the same place and asked for something he can quite easily get—not full membership but a status packing similar legal power. Yet in downtown Ramallah, the West Bank city where trucks mounted with loudspeakers implored Palestinians to gather in the central square to watch, it was hard to find a television tuned in. "I thought it sounded just like the speech he gave last year, with the exception that no one cares this time," says a 38-year-old electrician named Abu Jala. Abu Jala is speaking on a street that 12 months earlier had been choked with people cheering Abbas so lustily that, for the first time, the unassuming politician began to resemble a popular leader. But that moment is long gone, lost in the cloud of resentful disappointment that has descended on the Palestinians and further obscured the enigmatic man who reluctantly leads them.

Uncomfortable with crowds, more at home with books than with constituents, Abu Mazen, as Abbas is widely known, is that rare elected leader who does not want popularity. Which is convenient, because lately he hasn't enjoyed much at all. In the long, trying year since he asked the U.N. for statehood, the Palestinian cause, once central to any discussion of the future shape of the Middle East, has been overtaken by events in Syria, Egypt and Iran, overwhelmed by the iron alliance of Washington and Israel and haunted by a misquoted cliché: "The Palestinians never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity."

The dismaying truth for Palestinians is that Abbas could have seized the moment

last year to ask for the U.N. status—to have Palestine recognized as a nonmember state—that he has only just now requested. That's a lost year for a people who are less patient than their leader, a man of almost inertial calm.

Eight years after being elected, Abu Mazen is no closer to delivering on the central promise of his campaign: ending the 45-year Israeli occupation through negotiations. And so he went to the U.N. in September in search of something to shake things up—a measure of legal and moral leverage. Experts on international law say that because the designation "nonmember observer state" contains the word *state*, the new status would offer the Palestinians the potential power to ask the International Criminal Court (ICC) to investigate war crimes on Palestinian territory, which Israel has occupied since 1967.

The ICC is an uncomfortable issue for Israel, which voted against its creation in part because the court's founding statute suggested that it would regard the establishment of West Bank settlements as a war crime. Individual Israeli officials could also face charges if Palestinians found both grounds and the political will to proceed. "I think the whole statehood agenda is in a way geared toward embarrassing Israel in international forums such as the ICC, especially in the area of settlements, where Israel doesn't have good legal answers," says Yuval Shany, dean of Hebrew University's law school. "The ICC is a big issue."

What's more, nonmember-observer-state status can be bestowed by a simple majority vote of the General Assembly, thus avoiding the Security Council and the threat of a U.S. veto that torpedoed last year's bid for full member status. This time, the Palestinians had what Abu Mazen could have had a year ago: a clear path to leverage their greatest asset—international sympathy—in hopes of leveling a playing field that has become

badly tilted because of Israel's military, economic and diplomatic advantages.

This year's U.N. appearance also highlighted what stands as the signal accomplishment of Abbas, for all his many stumbles: the movement of the world's most chronicled conflict from a low-intensity asymmetrical war—street fights laced with terror—to where we find it today, in the bloodless realm of diplomacy. In the five years before Abbas became Palestinian President, more than 5,000 Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis were killed. In the past three years, the numbers were 311 and 20.

Not that Abu Mazen is getting much credit from either side for such efforts.





SEPT. 23, 2011

Palestinians in Ramallah watch Abbas on live TV as he bids for statehood



Abbas' decision to apply for full statehood at the U.N. last year set in motion forces that threaten to bring down his life's work

SEPT. 8, 2012

Almost a year later, youths in the same city protest the high cost of living in the West Bank

While Israelis may now board buses and sip lattes in cafés all but free from the threat of suicide bombers, Palestinians complain of seeing no reward for showing the restraint that Abbas vowed would put an end to the Israeli occupation through negotiations. And as Abbas prepared to return to New York City last month, Israel's right-wing Foreign Minister, Avigdor Lieberman, called Abbas a "diplomatic terrorist," an Orwellian insult if ever there was one. "He would be the ideal leader—avuncular, grandfatherly, a modern man, free from violence—to head a Palestinian state if one already existed," says Aaron David Miller, a former U.S. negotiator under

three Presidents. "Unfortunately, charm and persuasion are not sufficient to bail him out of the fix he's in."

It's a bad fix. Abbas' decision to apply for full statehood at the U.N. last year set in motion forces that threaten to bring down his life's work. At risk are the Oslo Accords of 1993 and 1995 that laid out the principles at the heart of the world's hoped-for solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: the establishment of two states for two peoples. Abbas' 2011 U.N. bid so irked Israel and Washington that each held back vital funding to Abbas' Palestinian National Authority (PA), the Palestinian transitional government. The revenue shortfalls wreaked

havoc on the Palestinian economy. By September, people were burning tires in the streets to protest not Israel's 45-year military occupation but the PA itself.

The uproar left Abbas with even less room to maneuver. "His weapon is only negotiations," says Abdul Jawad Saleh, a former PA Minister. "He doesn't know how to confront."

Silencing the Guns

IT'S A PAINFUL PARADOX FOR THE PALESTINIANS, who watch the years pass without a peace deal and with ever growing numbers of Israeli homes appearing in the West Bank: Abu Mazen has done more in the past few years than any Palestinian ever has to keep Israelis safe. "I all the time go against the stream," he tells *TIME*, in what he calls "my broken English." "I tried all the time to say exactly what I feel, what I think, without any propaganda, without any cover, without everything. When I ran to the elections, the first thing I said is I do not accept the armed struggle. No, I don't like it. I don't want it. I will prohibit it."

And he did. Missiles still fly out of Hamas controlled Gaza from time to time, but according to the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, which tallies every reported incident on occupied territory, most violence in the West Bank is now committed by Israeli settlers against their Palestinian neighbors rather than the other way around. There have been spectacular exceptions, including the March 2011 slaughter of five Jewish settlers in their West Bank home. But month by month, the Palestinians tend to be the victims of violence rather than the perpetrators. In Qusra, south of Nablus, a mosque was set afire in September 2010, its walls spray-painted with "Muhammad is a pig." The Israeli human rights group B'Tselem this year videotaped Israeli soldiers standing by as settlers fired on Palestinians. Abbas takes each incident as a test of Palestinian forbearance. "They think we will respond with terror," he says and raises his gaze. "We will disappoint them."

Hesitant as Abbas may be to take on Washington—to spare President Obama any unpleasantness, Abbas will not ask for a General Assembly vote until after the Nov. 6 presidential election—the iron grip of his Palestinian Authority on would-be resistance fighters is unquestioned. This has remade the Palestinian-controlled parts of the West Bank into the turf not of terrorist militias but of disciplined uniformed forces, adamant about keeping the peace. “We are living in our best, most convenient security conditions since—ever,” Amos Gilad, the No. 2 official in Israel’s Defense Ministry, said last year. “No terror.” Says a Palestinian teenager in Ramallah’s central market: “If you even dream about throwing a rock, they arrest you.”

The formula for this transformation is no secret, but neither do Palestinian Authority officials like to publicize it. One part is the U.S. investment in training Palestinian security forces (money for security accounted for some \$147 million of the \$384 million that congressional Republicans delayed over the first U.N. bid, contributing for a time to a \$1 billion PA budget shortfall). Part two is even more sensitive: the Palestinian authorities coordinate daily with Israel’s domestic intelligence service, stalking militants as they plot attacks on Israel. The resulting security architecture has brought law and order (emphasis on the “order,” note human rights activists who compile complaints of mistreatment and even torture by the Palestinian security services) to a region controlled not long ago by militias and thugs.

The dramatic reduction in violence has many senior Israeli officials now speaking of the Palestinian issue as a conflict to be managed rather than solved. For many Palestinians, however, the cooperation with an occupying army can be tolerated for only so long. Consider the position of one of Abbas’ appointees, Qaddura Fares, who runs the PA’s prisoner-affairs office. Fares says his nephew was arrested by Israeli troops, released, then taken away a month later by Palestinian security and questioned about whether he had ties to the militant group Hamas. He was released last year. “What’s the difference?” Fares asks. “I will be ready to arrest my nephew—my son!—if in one year we achieve a state. But to arrest these people to appear beautiful to the Americans or to look professional?” The line between cooperation and collaboration is both thin and combustible, like a fuse.



“Exactly!” says Abbas. “Sometimes they are whispering, ‘Are we collaborators?’ We don’t want to be collaborators for anybody. We are working for our own benefit, for our own future.” But what future? In his latest U.N. address, Abbas declared, “There is still a chance—maybe the last—to save the two-state solution and salvage peace.” Yet privately, neither side believes the other is serious about making a deal. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu campaigned against the Oslo Accords. In 2009, Israel announced it was freezing construction of new homes in its West Bank settlements for 10 months, but Abbas complained that the moratorium contained exceptions that permitted certain construction to carry on. Amid disagreement over the freeze, talks foundered in 2010. The building continues. “Every way is closed to me,” Abbas told *TIME* last year.

If a new uprising, or *intifadah*, erupts, Palestinians say it will come in the space between the death of hope for the Oslo Accords and whatever takes their place. One option is to abandon the PA and force Israel to once again administer the territories it occupies, as it did before 1994—a burden Israel doesn’t want and a situation that would almost certainly lead to more

fighting. “We are at a crossroads,” says Bassam Salhi, head of the leftist Palestinian People’s Party. “The problem is more than a problem of Abu Mazen. It’s a problem of this process, which began 20 years ago and has brought nothing till now.” Palestinians also complain bitterly about corruption within the Authority, and some say Abbas uses its security forces to intimidate critics. But all complaints are aggravated by the limbo that Palestinians find intolerable. Says Mohammed Mahmoud, a protester in downtown Ramallah: “The people are upset about the economic situation because there are no solutions for the political situation.”

Militant Youth

ABU MAZEN CAN EMPATHIZE WITH THE urge to pick up arms in the face of frustration and an enemy. “It was in myself when I was young,” he says. Born in Safed, a city in the Galilee region of present-day Israel, he was 13 when his family fled Jewish forces in 1948, along with 700,000 other Arabs. The family ended up in Damascus, where he laid pavement for two years, then taught primary school part of the day while attending high school. The young Abbas then studied law in Egypt and was working in Qatar as personnel



War of words Abbas talks with Netanyahu during a meeting at the White House in September 2010

he is," says Abbas. "Is he an animal? Is he huge? Is he a giant? I don't know. So I started reading." What he came to eventually understand—after flirting with Holocaust denial in his Ph.D. thesis, a flirtation he later passionately disavowed—was that Israel's strength flowed from desperation: "They don't have any other place to go." He also concluded that Israelis are extremely well armed, resourceful and allied with the most powerful nation in the world. "How can we deal with them?" Abbas asks. "War? It's impossible. Israel is a superpower."

For all the despair on the West Bank—at the political stasis, the growing settlements and the economic challenges many Palestinians face—Abbas' core belief is now something of an orthodoxy. As Salah Yasin, who sells plaster ceiling fixtures in Ramallah, puts it, "The military option is not possible." The majority of ordinary Palestinians agree with what pollsters call "the Abu Mazen approach."

Abu Mazen himself spends more and more time abroad, flying on a chartered jet provided by the United Arab Emirates, a statesman without a state, relentlessly grooming an image of a peaceful people denied a homeland in foreign capitals. People "mistake mildness for weakness, and they're different things," says Hussein J. Agha, a longtime PLO activist now at Oxford. "Unlike his image, he's very, very decisive. His predecessor had a different image, but he was much more reluctant to make a decision and stick with it."

His predecessor was, of course, Arafat, who showed up at the U.N. in fatigues. Arafat, then chairman of the PLO, told the General Assembly he came with a gun in one hand and an olive branch in the other. Abbas has a different style. When he spoke from the same stage, he was wearing a suit and tie and he held aloft a sheaf of papers: the U.N. application.

Unlikely Convert

IF ABAS RETIRES, AS HE FREQUENTLY SAYS he wants to, he will leave with no clear successor. Polls show Palestinians would elect Marwan Barghout, a charismatic Fatah militant not currently available; he's serving five life sentences in an Israeli prison. In recent months, Palestinian business leaders have talked up Khaled Meshaal, a notion that speaks

volumes about the changes roiling Palestinian politics. Since 1996, Meshaal had held the most senior position in Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, long the face of Palestinian terror. Its suicide bombings derailed Oslo, shattered Israel's peace wing and justified the separation barrier, the fence and wall that Israel is building around the West Bank.

Earlier this year, however, Meshaal endorsed the Abu Mazen approach. While reserving the right to violent resistance and not renouncing the Hamas Charter, which calls for the destruction of Israel, Meshaal said the time has come for negotiations with Israel and nonviolent protest in the spirit of the Arab Spring. "Now we have a common ground that we can work on—the popular resistance, which represents the power of the people," Meshaal said. He and Abbas sealed a deal for a unity government, ending (if only on paper) a rift that has seen the 1.6 million Palestinians in the Gaza Strip governed by Hamas and the perhaps 2.3 million on the West Bank under Abbas.

But the deal has come undone. Meshaal stepped down in September after failing to bring more than half of Hamas' leadership with him. East Jerusalem analyst Mahdi Abdul Hadi, who speaks with Meshaal regularly, said Egypt, which was midwifing the deal, asked Abbas to forgo his insistence on elections. Abbas refused, and the bargain collapsed.

To have a leader like Meshaal, whose organization dispatched numerous suicide bombers to kill Israeli civilians, adopt the Abu Mazen approach was still a remarkable philosophical victory for Abbas, even if the political victory remains elusive. Because as a whole, Hamas remains resistant to the Abbas-Fatah worldview. "Meshaal said, 'Let's embrace him, be in the system, get legitimacy,'" Hadi says. "Others in Hamas say, 'No, we don't need his system. Look what's happening in political Islam in the region. It's a matter of time. They'll have to deal with us.'"

That's exactly what Israel should understand, and quickly, say Abbas loyalists. Whatever new governments emerge from the Arab Spring, they are unlikely to be more understanding toward Israel than the bookish moderate who, when asked last October why he was going to the U.N., replied with one word: "Hope. All the time we give them hope." Supplies are running low. In April, 3 out of 4 Palestinians told pollsters they felt depressed. — WITH REPORTING BY

RAMI NAZZAL/RAMALLAH ■

director of the Education Ministry when he joined the party Yasser Arafat and a few others had formed to confront Israel.

"I decided to join Fatah and be active because at that time, the 1960s, nobody cares about us, nobody talks about us," Abbas says. "How can we draw the attention of the public opinion around us to know that there is a problem that needs to be solved? So we found this the only way, military action, revolution."

The plane hijackings, bombings and assassinations that followed in the late 1960s and '70s would do much to define modern political terrorism, calculated to draw attention that could then be transformed into political power. "About two thirds of the countries in the United Nations started that way," says Ilan Halevi, a Jewish member of the PLO living during that period in Israel, which before independence had its own militants, even terrorists. "And because we took up arms, we were in a position to put them down with credibility." Abbas was among the first to say so, calling in 1977 for talks with moderate Israelis. By then he understood not only the limits of violence but also of Palestinians' knowledge about their enemy.

"So we are in a conflict, in a war, with somebody we don't know exactly what

READY, SET, DISRUPT

EIGHT IDEAS THAT
ARE CHANGING THE WAY WE LIVE, EAT,
WORK, SHOP AND PLAY—AGAIN

Facebook. Amazon. Apple. Not too long ago, these were the companies upending the status quo—unleashing provocative business models that changed our daily lives even as they transformed entire industries. (See: bookstores, record labels.)

Now it's their turn to face the newbies. Buoyed by rocketing investor enthusiasm—venture-capital funding hit \$28.4 billion in the U.S. last year, up 22% from 2010—the next class of start-ups aims to disrupt the disrupters. “Are we worried about iTunes? Of course,” says Daniel Ek, CEO of Spotify, a much hyped app that offers streams of songs legally and free. “But our goal is to be the best product there is to consume music, period.”

The drive to challenge norms is at the core of this year's Chicago Ideas Week—

co-hosted by TIME—which kicks off Oct. 8 and features talks with Rahm Emanuel, Colin Powell and many key entrepreneurs. It's also at the heart of this list.

To highlight eight particularly telling innovations, we examined more than 100 companies across a variety of sectors. Some, like Spotify and Pinterest, are already reshaping their industries. Others, like Social Teeth (a Kickstarter-like platform for supporting political causes) and Ubersense (a mobile app for coaching athletes), are just getting started.

Success is a challenge. For every Google, there's a GeoCities; for every Facebook, a Friendster. “It takes a lot of tweaking,” admits Elaine Chang, CEO of Social Teeth. “But at some point, we'll get to something really, really good.”

YOUR PERSONAL ASSEMBLY LINE

WHO: **Bre Pettis** // COMPANY: **MakerBot**

Imagine dreaming up a toy for your kids, sketching it out on your computer, and minutes later—voilà!—you're holding the real thing in your hand. Such is the promise of 3-D printing, a niche but growing technology that Bre Pettis and his Brooklyn-based start-up, MakerBot, believe will become as common in homes as the printers that crank out our photos and household documents. While the idea may sound futuristic—"People say, '3-D printing? Do I need special glasses?'" says Pettis, 40—generating physical objects from digital designs is not a new concept. That's how aerospace and automotive companies have created product prototypes for decades. What sets MakerBot apart, however, is that it aims to be

the printer of the people: its new Replicator 2 device is relatively cheap—at \$2,200, a fraction of the cost of commercial equipment. It's also sleek and fast: designs for smaller objects are ready in minutes. Although people have used the Replicator to make dangerous items, like rifle magazines, Pettis maintains that his innovation will change the world for the better. It's already being used by NASA, for example, to assist research. Meanwhile, MakerBot has opened a retail location in New York City so customers can play with the product. And as technology improves and cheaper machines become available, the average desktop could soon double as a minifactory that transforms manufacturing forever.

HOW
3-D
PRINTING
WORKS

1
Consumers design an object—think iPhone case or keychain—on their computer, using a special 3-D modeling program

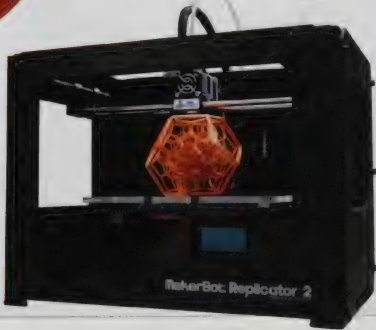
2
Just as an ink-jet printer sprays lines of ink, the Replicator 2 (below) churns out layers of melted plastic

3
After anywhere from minutes to hours, depending on the size of the design, the object is complete

Plastic is pulled in and fused

A digital design is translated

Individual parts can be snapped together



A DIFFERENT WAY TO PAY FOR MUSIC

WHO: **Daniel Ek**
COMPANY: **Spotify**

Hundreds of thousands of songs at your fingertips for \$9.99 a month (or free with ads). That's the promise of Spotify, a Web and smart-phone app backed by all four major U.S. record labels that could tempt users to rent their music. We talked to the 29-year-old Swede behind it.

One of your investors, Napster co-founder Sean Parker, claims that Spotify royalties could surpass those of iTunes in two years. What do you think?



The streaming music space is possibly much larger than the download space ever was. There are millions of people who consume music

illegally every month. So even if you extract much lower payouts, just getting them into a legal service will make the music industry way bigger than it's ever been before.

Right now Spotify has roughly 15 million active users. How will you hook more?

Education. The reality is, in most markets people still listen to plastic bits and bytes. They're playing CDs in their cars, for instance. Teaching them about our model and why it's more beneficial than stealing or just downloading digital music is still something we're spending a lot of time on. It's not like we're doing this illegally. We are paying artists and the music industry every time someone plays a song.

The Black Keys recently called the service "unfair to artists." How do you respond to that?

There are always going to be outliers. Frankly speaking, in the early days, artists like Metallica were never big fans of iTunes either. But we have Bob Dylan, who wasn't on iTunes early, and Red Hot Chili Peppers, who have never been on a streaming service. Once artists really learn about Spotify, they become a lot more receptive.

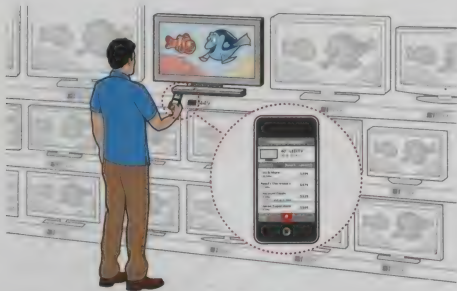
FIND THE LOWEST PRICE FOR ANYTHING IN A STORE

WHO: Rob Veres // COMPANY: RedLaser

Everyone loves a good deal, but RedLaser, an eBay-owned smart-phone app, promises the best. Users scan a product's bar code via camera and then compare prices online or in nearby stores. "Consumers have wonderfully capable smart phones, and they want to use them to engage with retailers," says RedLaser general manager Rob Veres,

36. But for merchants, it's a mixed blessing. While Veres says he is eager to partner with stores on fun sales gimmicks—like location-specific guides at Best Buy—the app makes it easier than ever to "showroom," or browse stores for products you'll wind up buying online (a tactic used by 35% of U.S. consumers, according to a recent

ComScore survey). Not that retailers can do much to stop RedLaser or competitors like BarCode Reader and Amazon's Price Check. Veres' app has been downloaded almost 22 million times, and he hints at new features, like the ability to page help in stores and pay within the app, which could help it reach even greater heights.



CLICK TO SEE A DOCTOR

WHO: Cyrus Massoumi
COMPANY: ZocDoc

Why can't scheduling a doctor's appointment be as easy as booking a flight or making a dinner reservation? That's the question Cyrus Massoumi asked five years ago after he ruptured an eardrum and spent four days searching for a specialist. Nine months later, Massoumi, 36, had quit his consulting gig at McKinsey to co-found ZocDoc, a free Web service that helps people book medical appointments online. For patients, the site offers convenience. Searches can target doctors on the basis of

specialty, insurance accepted and even available time slots (one reason most ZocDoc appointments are made a day or two in advance, as opposed to the national average of 20 days). For doctors, joining the site—for a monthly fee of

**1.8
MILLION**

Appointments booked on ZocDoc in August, up 234% from a year earlier

A VIRTUAL, NATIONWIDE FARMERS' MARKET

WHO: Heather Hilleren
COMPANY: Local Dirt



While working at Whole Foods in the early 2000s, Heather Hilleren, 41, noticed a problem. "Buyers played phone tag all day long with farmers on the go," she says, which made it challenging to include more local growers and maximize produce variety. So Hilleren joined the burgeoning locavore movement with Local Dirt, an online marketplace that connects thousands of farmers with nearby buyers in every state. Its mission: to cut costs and make it easier for everyone to buy local food.

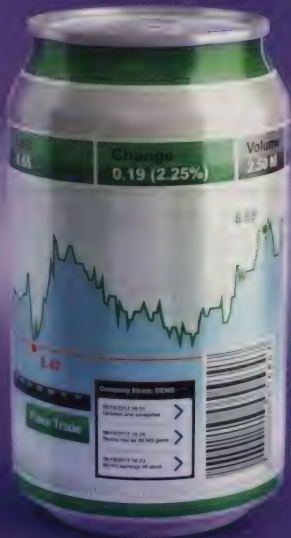
HOW
IT WORKS

With Spring Co-op in Jackson, she reaches 150 producers

Now a Big Sky farm in nearby Slinger has 300 customers a week

In 2008 she carried 100 products to Local Dirt

Since then, she's added 700 more products



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BOOST SMALL VOICES IN A SUPER-PAC ERA

WHO: Elaine Chang

COMPANY: Social Teeth

Social Teeth, which launched in August, may be a nascent experiment. But its mission—to crowdfund media plans for political ads, à la Kickstarter—is getting lots of election-season buzz. We talked to the start-up's 24-year-old founder and CEO about its shot at success.

You've said you want to elevate political dialogue in America. What's wrong with it now?



There just aren't many compelling ways for everyday people to participate. Phone-banking for a candidate, doing data entry for a candidate—it's very much geared toward winning a battle as efficiently as possible, as opposed to engaging in a discussion about national issues. And while that makes sense for certain stages of the legislation process, I think a lot of people are turned off by it.

How does Social Teeth help?

We give people a chance to support a specific message and a specific plan to help promote that message. [One page features a video ad for marriage equality as well as a rough outline of how raising \$50,000 would help it get airtime on ABC, NBC, Bravo and Hulu and other media.] It's less about battling it out based on some ballot measure and more about redefining the conversation.

None of the fundraising goals have been met yet. Does that worry you?

Our conversion rates [the percent age of visitors who donate] are extremely good for a Web app—above 2%. And getting enough traffic will take time. But this is just the first version. We're experimenting with other ideas to amplify the voices of normal people. The product that ends up successful might look very different.

A SAVVIER SOCIAL NETWORK

WHO: Ben Silbermann // COMPANY: Pinterest

Facebook and Twitter thrive on what users do—where they travel, who they're hanging out with, which cat videos make them LOL. But Pinterest, that other social-network titan, thrives on what users want: each page on the three-year-old platform is filled with beautiful images of clothing, gadgets and more that have been "pinned" from all over the Internet. As CEO Ben Silbermann puts it, the site is "helping people get inspired and live out those aspirations." But it's also, by proxy, reshaping how brands, users and more-established

networks define social. Although Pinterest's early buzz has waned, its emphasis on wanting over liking is still fueling growth—some 20 million people pin every month—and has hooked a user base that buys significantly more than those on Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter and Tumblr, according to several studies. As a result, big names like Lowe's and Whole Foods have made the platform an integral part of their branding strategy, and industry analysts speculate that Facebook may soon introduce a Want button.

4,000%

Growth in monthly unique visitors since May 2011

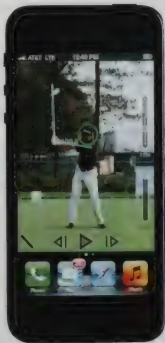
\$1.5 BILLION

Estimated company value

TURN YOUR PHONE (OR TABLET) INTO A SPORTS COACH

WHO: Krishna Ramchandran // COMPANY: Ubersense

"There are two problems with coaching," says Krishna Ramchandran. "One, not everyone lives near the coach who can train them best. And two, you can't take verbal feedback home with you." So the avid golfer, 34, created Ubersense, a free (for now) mobile app that aims to solve both problems. Its tactics are simple. First, athletes record videos of themselves playing a sport. Then, via Ubersense, they dig deep: pinpointing their errors in slow motion, comparing their form with the pros' and/or showing it all to their current coach—remotely or in person—for detailed feedback. (Future versions may help users find new trainers.) That setup "really helps things click," says Tuffy Latour, head coach of the U.S. bobsledding and skeleton team, whose athletes are just a fraction of the app's small but growing fan base (which trails behemoth sports apps like Nike+ Running). Since its November 2011 public launch, roughly 800,000 Ubersenses have uploaded 6.3 million videos.



HOW UBERSENSE UPS YOUR GOLF GAME

Slow-Motion Video
Helps ID and correct any flaws in swing form and head placement

Sketching Onscreen
Helps measure club-to-arm angles at crucial points during the swing

Pro Comparisons
Helps users emulate the form and techniques of PGA players

KEEP CLIMBING



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MR. SERIOUS

A DECADE AGO, BEN AFFLECK WAS A TABLOID FIXTURE.
FIVE YEARS AGO, A FLEDGLING FILMMAKER.
TODAY, HE'S THE FORCE BEHIND ONE
OF THE YEAR'S BEST MOVIES
BY JOEL STEIN

MAKING SERIOUS MOVIES FOR SERIOUS ADULTS ISN'T A GREAT BUSINESS STRATEGY.

That's because there aren't that many serious adults left. Ben Affleck is one of the few directors who treat their audience like adults, figuring they're smart enough to follow along. *Argo* (in theaters Oct. 12) is very adult. The real-life story it tells is complicated: after the Iran hostage crisis erupted in 1979, the CIA financed a cheesy sci-fi movie as a cover to disguise six escaped U.S. diplomats as Canadian filmmakers and ferret them home. For this plot-heavy film, Affleck somehow uses far less exposition than I just did. He also doesn't underline the political message of the film—that supporting brutal dictators (like the U.S.-backed Shah of Iran, overthrown in early 1979) has consequences. He thinks about his viewers as if they were back in college with him at Occidental, where he majored in Middle Eastern studies.

Chris Terrio's original script for *Argo* spent a lot of time mocking Hollywood; Affleck cut back on the humor to make a more earnest film about the power of storytelling. It's a CIA movie in which the operative doesn't have a gun. "The heroism is more compelling for being real," says Affleck, 40, who's had experience in ridiculous action movies like *Armageddon* (1998) and *Daredevil* (2003). "Not that there's anything wrong with jet rays. Whatever it is. Jet packs? Ray guns? We had no jet rays in the superhero movie I did. It probably would have helped."

Affleck made *Argo*—in which he also stars as CIA officer Tony Mendez, the mastermind behind what became known as the Canadian Caper—because he made a conscious decision years ago to become the kind of serious guy who makes movies like *Argo*. Sipping an iced tea in a hotel lounge overlooking the beach near his house in Santa Monica, Calif., Affleck says he wouldn't have started directing if being a celebrity hadn't become so problematic for him. His 2002–03 relationship with Jennifer Lopez (their portmanteau, Bennifer, sparked the trend that's given us such gems as TomKat and Brangelina) made him tabloid fodder in an era when new celebrity magazines were minted weekly and gossip sites were just gaining traction.

"There was a huge demand for tabloid

material, and there wasn't a good, deep bench of all these people, like reality stars," he says. "Then people decided that we were foisting this on them. 'How tacky.' I was reading things about myself that didn't correspond at all to my reality—who I felt I was, how I behaved, the kinds of things I wanted to do. Because that was so discordant, it made me think, Let me make who I am line up with the work I do."

The low point might have been *Gigli*, the 2003 movie he made with Lopez that people were excited to hate, or the terrible 2004 comedy *Surviving Christmas* or the 2004 video of him drunkenly hitting on a TV reporter, three years after he'd gone to rehab. Or maybe the nadir was in 2002, when Affleck appeared in Lopez's "Jenny from the Block" video, cavorting on a yacht and kissing her bikini-clad ass. "The thing that's frustrating is that the whole video is a send-up of paparazzi and tabloid stuff. That got totally lost," he says. "I'm on a yacht!"

So Affleck, who shared a Best Screenplay Oscar with Matt Damon for *Good Will Hunting* (1997), went back to writing, reworking a dark script he hoped to direct, *Gone Baby Gone*. He asked Dick Cook, who was the head of Walt Disney Studios at the time and had been an executive overseeing Affleck's blockbusters *Pearl Harbor* (2001) and *Armageddon*, if he could make *Gone Baby Gone* for \$18 million. "It had coke-using child molesters," Affleck says. "I thought, It's Disney. They'll never do it. He said, 'Great, I'll do it.' I said, 'I know he's never had a lead before, but I want to use my brother'—Casey Affleck, of the *Ocean's Eleven* franchise. "Dick said, 'If you think he's the right guy for the job, he's the right guy for the job.' I said, 'Am I getting reverse-punked?'"

He wasn't. Cook has trusted Affleck since they made a handshake deal on some parts of his *Pearl Harbor* contract that he didn't want in writing because the other actors would demand equal treatment. "You could see it in his eyes, in his face, how determined he was to make a really great movie," Cook says. "You like to have a guy who has something to prove."

Affleck had more leverage than people might have guessed. That's because the

film industry, like most other businesses, is a small group of people who all know one another and everyone tries to work with the likable people. Likable people's bosses let them do things they don't let other people do. When likable people stumble, others help them. Likable people call this kindness. Unlikable people call it office politics. Ben Affleck is really good at office politics.

"If you spend a long time in this industry, you see a lot of career roller-coaster rides," says George Clooney, whose company, Smokehouse Pictures, produced *Argo*. "But if you survive the tougher times, there's a lot of goodwill when you come out the other side."

"Silently Training as a Ninja"

GONE BABY GONE, WHICH HIT THEATERS in 2007, didn't immediately fix Affleck's career. It got great reviews and an Oscar nomination, for Amy Ryan as the world's worst mom, but few ticket buyers. "I tried to let it publicize itself without my involvement," Affleck says. "And I didn't want to be in the movie. Then it would be about me as an actor and 'Oh, he directed it too.' Like I wasn't as serious about it."

But for the second film he directed, *The Town*, he cast himself in the lead role as a conflicted bank thief and included enough gunfire to market it as an action movie. "I knew if it didn't work, that would probably be no-more-ski for me, directingwise," he said. *The Town*, released in 2010, earned \$92 million in the U.S., enough to earn Affleck the chance to make *Argo*.

It usually doesn't work, trying this hard to be taken seriously. In *The Town* and *Argo*, Affleck's characters never smile. He cut each film down to almost nothing but story, throwing away bonding dialogue between Mendez and his boss (Bryan Cranston) and scenes about Mendez's troubled marriage. And as on his previous films, he applied what he learned watching other directors at work. "Every time I've been hired as an actor, it's a film school for me," says Affleck, who began his career in TV as a child actor. "Almost to the detriment of my acting. I'd lose my concentration learning about dollies or lenses and then say, 'Oh, yeah, I'm supposed to be thinking



about how my [character's] mother died."

"I don't buy for a second he didn't know this directing career was coming all along," says filmmaker Kevin Smith, who gave Affleck, then 25, his first starring role, in the 1997 indie *Chasing Amy*. "The dude grew up on sets since he was 8. He's like Jason Bourne. The programming kicks in and he's punching guys in the mush because he's been silently training as a ninja all these years." On *Chasing Amy*, Affleck was never in his trailer; he was too busy talking to the crew. "He spent more time with my [director of photography] than I did," Smith says.

To master directing, Affleck says he adopted "the Malcolm Gladwell approach of just putting in hours"—referring to Gladwell's book *Outliers*, which proposes that it takes 10,000 hours of practice to command a craft. "It means I don't have a life," adds Affleck, who hasn't seen much of his wife, actress Jennifer Garner, or their three children since starting work on *Argo*. "But I have the comfort of feeling, 'Well, I put it all out there.' I don't feel like if I just worked that [extra] Sunday, it would have made it better."

Argo is Affleck's first period piece, and a lot of that time away from his family was spent obsessing about making the film feel like the 1970s. When the end credits juxtapose photos of the actual Canadian Capers principals with stills from the movie, it's hard to tell which is which. To immerse the audience in the era, Affleck used regular film, cut the frames in half and blew those images up 200% to increase their graininess. He copied camera movements and bustling office scenes from Alan J. Pakula's *All the President's Men* (1976) for

Hands-on filmmaking.
Affleck talks through a scene with co-star John Goodman on the set of *Argo*

sequences depicting CIA headquarters. For his L.A. exterior, he lifted from John Casavetes' *The Killing of a Chinese Bookie* (1976).

To ensure maximum historical accuracy, he consulted with the real-life Tony Mendez. And he tried to take a research trip to Iran but was told, "You can go, you won't be harmed, but people from the [Iranian] government will show up to do photo ops, and you'll become 'Tehran Ben,'" he says. "I wouldn't be able to control the perception of me somehow endorsing some part of their government." And Affleck is aware of how tricky it is to control your image.

Waiting for a Superhero

HIS IMAGE AS A FILMMAKER IS SO GOOD right now, with *Argo* receiving positive reviews since its screenings at the Toronto and Telluride film festivals, that Warner Bros. Pictures president Jeff Robinov is offering Affleck every script he has. "We're looking at a larger-scale film," says Robinov. Christopher Nolan, director of the *Dark Knight* trilogy, "is the prototype of where Ben would like to end up—making big movies that are commercial and have critical and social relevance. That's where he's heading."

Affleck says he's up for a big superhero movie. "I like the idea of using all the toys and spending that much on visual effects to create a whole world. I just don't like the idea of doing it on top of a script that's not

very good." His next movie might be about Whitey Bulger, the Boston mobster caught last year after 16 years on the lam. Terence Winter, creator of HBO's *Boardwalk Empire*, is writing the script, and Matt Damon has agreed to star. Damon, who just moved back to L.A. with his family, now lives down the street from Affleck, just as they did when they were kids growing up in Boston.

Affleck is in two other upcoming films: *Runner, Runner*, a thriller about an offshore poker website, and *To the Wonder*, the new film from the reclusive director Terrence Malick. "I don't do much. I wander around," he says of *Wonder*. "I want people to know it's unusual. If you have pot, smoke it."

For now, or once the press tour for *Argo* is over, Affleck will stay home with his kids—two daughters, ages 3 and 6, and a son, 7 months. And watching them is pretty complicated. Serious Affleck isn't so interesting to the tabloids, but the three little Afflecks are. "If I drive out and they see the kids aren't in my car, [the paparazzi] will wait for [en]. If they see [en] without the kids, they'll wait for me," he says. "We try to shelter them, but then they don't leave the house, and that's weird. I don't want my kids to be weirdos."

They considered moving to New York City but found the paparazzi there even worse. "Kids are the big money now," he says of the celebrity press and its audience. "It's a lot of housewives who hold up their child rearing to the child rearing of these parents. 'Oh, they bought them this.' Or 'Oh, she's still breast-feeding.' It's kind of the way young girls look at whoever the young girl star is. And moms buy so much stuff."

Even though he hates that his kids are hearing the tabloid sins of the father, Affleck says he's finally comfortable with being a celebrity. So as he leaves the hotel lounge after our interview, I'm not surprised that he nods at the two middle-aged women sitting next to us, looking at him. "Hi, nice to see you," he says as he gets up from his chair.

"I have a Benjamin," one of the women says. "I call him Benny Boy. He's 22."

"I'm sure he enjoys that," Affleck says. Other people, he knows, don't make it easy to move past your past. ■

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urban farm.

LOCAL FOOD GROWS UP

High energy prices and changing tastes are pushing farms to sell their produce closer to home. Can the movement to eat locally reshape the food-supply chain?

BY ROYA WOLVERSON

VIRAJ PURI CLIMBS THREE floors of a gritty industrial building in Brooklyn to the daily grind of his early-stage start-up—negotiating deals with big customers, keeping up with new technology, meeting with investors and making plans to expand. But Puri's 20 employees aren't trying to build the next big social-media or clean-energy company. Instead, on a rooftop in the Greenpoint neighborhood, they run a small urban farm, Gotham Greens, a sleek and sunny oasis of leafy lettuces and herbs.

At the company's 15,000-sq.-ft. hydroponic greenhouse Gotham Greens grows plants in mineral-infused water instead of dirt, using software that closely controls temperature, irrigation and nutrients. The result, Puri says, is better-tasting, faster-growing crops that can be harvested year-round to satisfy New Yorkers' voracious appetite for locally grown produce. "We

offer the city's retailers and restaurants volume and consistency, which is difficult to get with local, highly perishable vegetables," says Puri. "We can't keep up with the demand for our produce, which is a good problem to have."

Puri isn't the only entrepreneur trying to turn local agriculture, a dirt-and-worms labor of love, into a streamlined business. Energy costs are rising, and more Americans are paying attention to the provenance of their food. As a result, sales of local foods in the U.S., whether through restaurants, grocery stores, farmers' markets or farm-share deliveries, were projected to reach \$7 billion in 2011, up from \$4.8 billion in 2008, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The definition of local food is fuzzy. The USDA defines *local* as products sold within 400 miles of their origin or in the state in which they are produced, but foodies, farmers and grocery stores all have different ideas about what qualifies.

Even by a broad definition, local food adds up to only 1% of the food we eat, but the steady shift in consumer tastes, along with efforts by big retailers to promote all things humane and healthy, is building a new local-food ecosystem. Farmers' markets, once common only in the quaint Northeast and crunchy West Coast, have spread throughout the country. The average American today lives within 13 miles of a farmers' market. Chipotle, the popular gourmet burrito chain, has doubled its locally sourced produce since 2010, to 10 million pounds a year. About one-quarter of the produce sold at Whole Foods comes from local farmers, up 55% from seven years ago, when the company made a push to boost its local sourcing. "There

Urban jungle Demand for local produce is driving the growth of farms close to New York City



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is a renaissance happening in being connected to your food and its producer, the likes of which we haven't seen since before World War II," says Walter Robb, a co-CEO of Whole Foods. "It's changing the face of agriculture. The distribution system has to evolve to accept the local producer."

The Next Frontier

IF THE LOCAL-FOOD MOVEMENT IS GOING to be more than a high-priced hobby, more local farmers will need to get their product to big supermarkets, wholesalers and restaurant chains, which sell the bulk of America's food. Farmers typically earn higher margins on food they sell directly to consumers through farmers' markets and farm shares, but selling in high volume to supermarkets and wholesalers has other advantages. "Farmers' markets involve a lot of work and risk," says Jim Slama, president of FamilyFarm.org, a nonprofit that helps grow local farms' business. "If I go to four farmers' markets in a week to sell my stuff and it's rainy, I might sell half of what I would in sunny weather, whereas the supermarket has a lot more guaranteed customers."

Still, scaling up is a difficult leap. National distributors like Sysco and retailers like Walmart need to buy more produce year-round than most small farms can offer. A typical small farmer selling to Chipotle, for instance, works 500 to 2,500 acres. That's more than a thousand times the acreage of Gotham Greens, which supplies Whole Foods and Fresh Direct. Using hydroponics, the company can maximize its productivity—it would take 10 to 20 times as long for a small farmer to crank out the equivalent amount of lettuce in that space using conventional methods—but the 120 tons of vegetables it produces a year is still minuscule compared with the yield of large commodity vegetable farms.

A more difficult challenge is squaring consumers' desire for fresh, local produce with seasonal changes and farmers' need for year-round income. Farmers in warm, sunny places can grow a wide variety of fresh produce all year, but in most parts of the country the growing season is fleeting: strawberry season in the Midwest lasts six weeks, compared with 11 months in California. At the DeGroot farm, a 3,400-acre operation 60 miles south of Chicago, a tight-knit family has been selling corn and beans to commodity markets for generations. Thirty years ago it relied on a wide variety of vegetables sold to consumers who picked them by

EATING LOCAL BY THE NUMBERS

LOCAL PRODUCE IS GROWING FAST

Number of farmers' markets



WHO PRODUCES IT

Percentage of farms reporting local-food sales



WHO DISTRIBUTES IT

Farms sell their food through multiple channels



80%

PROCEEDS KEPT BY FARMERS SELLING PRODUCE AT CSAs OR FARMERS' MARKETS. THEY KEEP ONLY 25% WHEN SELLING THROUGH DISTRIBUTORS

Sources: USDA Census of Agriculture; Miguel Gomez

hand in the fields or bought them by the basket at the farm's stand for seasonal canning and pickling.

The DeGroots now sell mainly to big wholesalers, but about five years ago, as they watched interest in local food surge, they started selling to retailers in Chicago. Adam DeGroot, 24, who handles sales for his father's and uncle's farm, says it often gets a higher return by selling locally and his consumers tend to get lower prices when transport costs are higher. "Why ship potatoes from Idaho to Chicago, which might add up to \$2,000 to \$3,000 in freight-transport costs, when you can ship them from our farm for \$200 to \$300?" he asks. Local demand for the farm's fresh vegetables has been strong—nearly all its cabbage sells locally—but the growing season lasts only a few months. To keep income steady, DeGroot explains, the farm sticks mostly with potatoes, corn and beans, which have a longer growing season and can be stored and sold year-round. "Demand for local has grown, but when supply is tight, some crops are worth more when sold outside the region. So we don't restrict ourselves to local customers."

Local meat and poultry is another tricky endeavor. Niman Ranch Pork Co., an Iowa-based network of small pig farmers, supplies Whole Foods and Chipotle across the country. Since it partnered with big retailers nearly a decade ago, its farm network has grown tenfold, from 50 to 500. But the bulk of its farmers are still in the Midwest, partly because of the space required to meet standards for humane treatment of animals. "You can grow a local tomato anywhere, but when it comes to pigs, you need space and scale," says the company's founder, Paul Willis.

From these Midwestern pastures, the animals move to a shrinking pool of regional meatpacking plants. Unlike fresh vegetables, which weigh less and require minimal packaging, meat needs extensive processing and requires heavy equipment to keep it cool in transit. As the industry has consolidated over the past three decades, the number of meatpacking plants in the U.S. has fallen by half. That means most small cattle, pork and chicken farmers have to send their goods a long distance just to get them ready for sale, then ship them farther to stores. At the end of their journey, all of Niman's pork products are labeled **NATURALLY RAISED**, which

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the company defines as antibiotic- and hormone-free, raised outdoors on pasture or in deeply bedded pens, and fed a vegetarian diet. But only 8% to 10% of Niman's pork sold at Whole Foods can be marketed as local.

Meeting safety standards is another expensive, time-consuming hurdle. There is no single national food-safety standard for produce, although the Food and Drug Administration is developing one under last year's Food Safety Modernization Act. For more closely regulated foods like eggs, small farmers who want to sell to retail stores often turn to private companies used by big retailers and distributors to test their products' safety. That option is out of reach for Phoenix's Egg Farm, a five-acre operation in Portland, Ore., that is trying to scale up. The owner, Souriya Khamvongsa, launched the business 2½ years ago and has doubled its stock of chickens from 1,000 to 2,000 to meet the

demand for his free-range eggs from 25 local grocers. "I've had nights where I'm hand-washing eggs until well past midnight," he says.

If his stock tripled to 3,000, federal law would require him to test for salmonella, which costs about \$10,000 for a batch of 1,000 eggs. "Until we start turning a profit and ramp up production dramatically, I just don't have that kind of money," says Khamvongsa, who has already invested \$100,000 in the farm with the help of a loan from the USDA.

Greasing the Wheels

BIG CUSTOMERS ARE STEPPING IN TO help small producers cut costs and finance their expansions. Whole Foods is looking to launch its own, less costly salmonella-testing program for its small farmers. As part of its local-producer loan program, started in 2007, the company lent Phoenix's Egg Farm money to

Rootless cosmopolitan

Growing plants in mineral-rich water, not soil, maximizes Gotham Greens' space on a Brooklyn rooftop

purchase a \$13,000 egg washer, which means Khamvongsa now spends less time washing eggs—he has since hired two employees—and more time managing finances and logistics. Whole Foods has also decentralized its operations in recent years to give regional and store-level buyers the authority to bring local goods to shelves. Small farmers no longer have to pitch their product at headquarters to get their eggs or carrots into a single store, reducing their sales and marketing costs. "It takes a pretty expensive range of support services to accommodate this supply coming online," says Robb of Whole Foods. "But the investment pays off because

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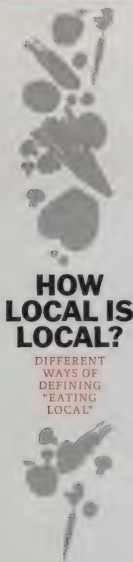
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HOW LOCAL IS LOCAL?

DIFFERENT
WAYS OF
DEFINING
"EATING
LOCAL"



of its origin or within
the state where it's
produced
—USDA



from farms to the
restaurant where the
customer is served
—Chipotle



of the store, mostly
from farms with
fewer than 100 acres
—Wegmans
supermarket chain



or within the state
for many stores, but
varies by region
—Whole Foods

52%

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE WHO
SAY EATING LOCAL IS MORE
IMPORTANT TO THEM THAN
EATING ORGANIC

STATES WITH THE MOST FARMERS' MARKETS PER PERSON

RANK	STATE	TOTAL MARKETS
1	Vermont	84
2	North Dakota	56
3	Iowa	232
4	New Hampshire	90
5	Hawaii	83
6	Maine	77
7	Wyoming	30
8	Montana	48
9	Washington, D.C.	28
10	Idaho	65

Sources: USDA; Union of Concerned Scientists; Mintel

that's what more of our customers want."

Other supermarkets are experimenting with growing their own local produce. Wegmans, a Northeastern grocery chain that has sourced locally for decades, created a 10-acre organic farm five years ago as a lab where its farmers could learn to grow local organic produce, which is scarce in the region. Schnucks, which runs 99 grocery stores in the Midwest, is building a \$2 million hydroponic greenhouse with operator BrightFarms that will supply lettuces, baby greens, tomatoes and herbs year-round.

Local and federal governments are also chipping in. Cities like New York, Detroit and Burlington, Vt., have launched initiatives to help train and support local farmers and make use of vacant land. The USDA is doling out tens of millions of dollars for similar projects nationwide as well as grants for farm-to-school projects and food-stamp redemption at farmers'

markets. "We are experiencing a major transition in American agriculture," says Deputy Agriculture Secretary Kathleen Merrigan. "One-third of the farming population is over the age of 65. We have to stem the outflow from rural communities and make those places livable. That means repopulating our working land with young, beginning farmers, many who are interested in local and organic." Last year, FoodCorps, a new outcropping of AmeriCorps, received more than 1,200 applications for 50 spots.

Still, the local-food renaissance has limits. Local food's share of the overall food supply could grow 1% to 5% in the next five to 10 years with smart investments, but even then it would remain a niche market, says Miguel Gomez, an agricultural economist at Cornell University. "Consumers are very interested in local, but they are not willing to sacrifice convenience and variety, especially since

many markets are constrained by a short seasonal supply," he says. Tight credit and jittery investors don't help. "It's a struggle to get investors to look at this niche," says Slama of FamilyFarmed.org. "Fifty years ago, bankers were comfortable with investing in a poultry or vegetable farm. Today they only understand the numbers for commodity dealers in corn and beans."

Puri of Gotham Greens isn't concerned. His company turned a profit less than a year after opening, and he is planning to open two new rooftop greenhouses next year with the help of private investors. "If we build our facilities and grow high-quality products, we think the consumer will follow," he says. It may take generations of innovative and optimistic farmers like Puri to make local food a larger part of the American diet. But if the history of their 10,000-year-old occupation is any guide, the successful farmers will be those who take the long view. ■

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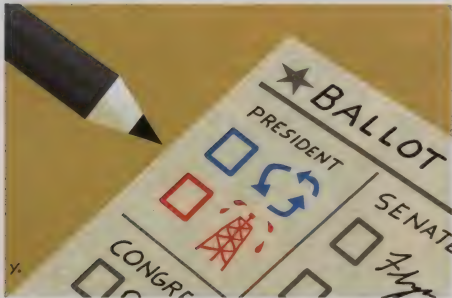
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None of the Above

Does either candidate really believe in an "all of the above" energy policy?



THE OBAMA AND ROMNEY CAMPAIGNS agree that energy policy is one of the clearest contrasts between the candidates. Which is odd, because the two campaigns also agree that the U.S. needs an "all of the above" energy policy.

There is an explanation for this paradox that won't shock anyone: both campaigns are being disingenuous. Romney, whose 21-page energy white paper reads like a love letter to fossil fuels, had the gall to blame Obama for recent wind-industry layoffs, which were caused by uncertainty over tax credits that Romney wants to kill. Obama, whose Administration has poured money into clean energy while cracking down on dirty coal plants, has shown similar chutzpah, airing an ad in coal-rich Ohio depicting Romney as a Massachusetts coal basher.

Romney doesn't bash coal anymore.

And his plan for North American energy independence isn't really all of the above; it's drill, baby, drill. It doesn't even mention reducing demand—the cheapest, cleanest and fastest way to reduce dependence. He opposes Obama's strict fuel-efficiency standards for cars and trucks, which could save billions of barrels of oil.

Romney wants more drilling, less regulation and immediate approval of the Keystone XL pipeline. The idea is that exploiting technological advances in fracking and drilling could unleash an oil and gas boom, keeping energy prices low and creating millions of jobs.

But U.S. oil and gas production is already booming. Despite the 2010 BP oil-spill disaster, the oil-rig count is the highest it's been since the 1980s. And petroleum companies are still sitting on 26 million acres in idle offshore leases, plus 7,000 unused permits for drilling on federal land. The shale gas revolution is already under way, despite the Obama Administration's alleged hostility.

Meanwhile, fossil fuels are broiling the planet, and Romney's plans would accelerate that. He has become an outspoken critic of federal incentives for renewables, deriding them as "picking winners and losers." Romney says he merely wants to restore a level playing field for all energy resources, but he opposes efforts to level the playing field by making coal and petroleum—"real energy," he once called them—pay for their pollution through carbon pricing or even

clean-air enforcement. And while he's fine with cradle-to-grave support for nuclear plants, he opposes Obama's call to eliminate tax breaks for spectacularly profitable oil companies. Romney's plan does promise to slash red tape around renewables, but Obama has already done that; his Administration approved the first 17 solar projects on federal land.

In fact, while every President since Nixon has talked about reducing energy dependence, Obama is the first to oversee a real reduction, back to 1995 levels. His stimulus poured \$90 billion into clean energy, launching a quiet green revolution. Wind generation doubled in his first term, and solar-power installations have increased sixfold. Over Republican opposition, Obama helped finance a new battery industry for electric vehicles and a smarter electric grid. And he has tackled demand, not only with efficiency upgrades for vehicles and appliances but also with aggressive retrofits of government buildings, low-income homes and factories. Romney has dismissed Obama's green push as crony capitalism, but nobody has produced evidence of any shenanigans.

Obama isn't running as a green President, though. Instead he brags about record production of fossil fuels—a rooster taking credit for the sunrise. And he no longer talks much about global warming, even though that's the best reason to invest in clean energy. If the goal is merely reducing dependence on imports, we can just use more coal and gas. They're abundant. And right now they're cheap.

The unpalatable truth is that "all of the above" is a silly energy policy. Corn ethanol is worse for the planet than gasoline. Nuclear energy costs too much. Natural gas is eco-friendlier than coal but not as clean as wind or sunshine. And it won't need presidential assistance to keep expanding.

The larger point is that energy, like elections, is about more than slogans. It's about choices—and some choices are better than others.

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The Culture

FALL READING SPECIAL

Cartoon by Chris Ware for TIME

Pop Chart



AUTHOR EDITION

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Neil Patrick Harris
The jack-of-all-trades inked a deal for a memoir, due out in the spring of 2014

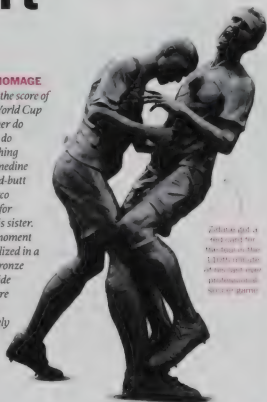
J.K. Rowling
The *Harry Potter* series' latest novel, *The Casual Vacancy*, has been widely panned by (non-*Time*) critics

WTF
Insane
Lawsuit
Posse

We can't decide what's crazier: the FBI's classifying "Juggalos," a.k.a. face-painted fans of hip-hop duo Insane Clown Posse, as a gang, or the performers' suing the FBI for not substantiating its claim. Here's hoping they settle via rap battle.

A HEADY HOMAGE

Remember the score of the 2006 World Cup final? Neither do we. But we do recall watching France's Zinedine Zidane head-butt Italy's Marco Materazzi for insulting his sister. Now that moment is immortalized in a 16-ft.-tall bronze statue outside Paris' Centre Pompidou, affectionately called an "ode to defeat."



Zidane got a big ovation for his head-on-the-11th-minute collision with Materazzi. Score: 1-0.

ART

Faux-na Lisa?

No, Leonardo da Vinci's most famous portrait subject did not get Botox. She's just about a decade younger in what the Zurich-based Mona Lisa Foundation claims is a long-lost work by Leonardo. Experts haven't yet disproved it. Perhaps they're too busy laughing?



BITIN' WORDS

'NOT COOL, COOKIE.'

@AMCTHEATRES, after @Oreo asked its 56,000-plus followers if they ever take their own cookies to the movies.



QUICK TALK

Joel McHale

It's been a wild few months for *Community*, the NBC cult comedy about a ragtag bunch of community-college students. First, series creator Dan Harmon was fired. Then Chevy Chase said doing the show was "a big mistake." Now, in advance of the fourth-season premiere (Oct. 19 at 8:30 p.m. E.T.), star Joel McHale breaks it all down with *TIME*. —DAN MACSAI

This is the first season of *Community*

without Dan. It is. Unless he's there secretly. **Hiding under a couch? Monitoring from afar?** You never know. **So what's changed?** Boy, let's see. Well, we don't have to wear the uniforms anymore. And the lobster buffets are gone, because it's the only meat he's not allergic to. Very convenient—a weird allergy. **Oh yeah?** All right. I'm just making stuff up. Really, not much has changed. A lot of writers stayed, so they know the spirit and tone of the show. And it's our fourth year, so we have a good sense of our characters.

I don't know if you've seen the photos of my character and The Dean [Jim Rash] in a dress, doing the tango, with two men dressed as unicorns behind us... **That's actually my desktop background.** Well, as far as the story and the fantasticalism—wow,

don't print that, find out what the word for that is—it's all still there. If we lost our uniqueness, we'd lose the show. **Your co-star Chevy Chase has been sharing some opinions recently.**

No! What? **He called sitcoms like *Community* "the lowest form of television."** What's the deal? I will tease Chevy about that stuff, and then he always goes, Oh, I was just joking! And then I'll say, a) Hilarious, hilarious! and b) You should soak your dentures. It gives the whole cast fodder to make fun of him. **Sounds like a fun set.** Yeah, we get along really well. I mean, other than when Chevy's raving about how he just wants the money.





PRISONER PROFILES

In "Sailboats and Swans," her rare and surprising glimpse into Russian and Ukrainian prisons, Michal Chelbin reveals confinement quarters that are less concrete walls and steel bars and more floral wallpaper and lace-covered tables. Still, the images—on view at New York City's Andrea Meislin gallery from Oct. 18 to Dec. 22—evoke the hopelessness of the young inmates who remain there, including Stas (left), who was jailed for murder. See more at lightbox.time.com.

TWEET BEAT

Who's the Newest Gumshoe?

It's been a good week for Sherlock Holmes, whose latest incarnation, on CBS's *Elementary*, drew 13 million viewers for its premiere. Which other fictional detectives could rival that? We asked @TIME followers to solve the mystery.



"Batman. He isn't just a 9-5 sleuth—he lives it!"

—@StanMorris

"Miss Marple, 'cause Sherlock is too mainstream and Hercule Poirot is a dork."

—aunardydjmg

"NANCY DREW! She taught girls to test gender norms, fight back, and ask questions. She also drove an awesome car."

—@TheMovieCritic

"Harry Dresden. Magic, romance, mystery, humor, and rock, all wrapped up in one sexy dude who saved the world several times over."

—@CristinaL



"The Dude from *The Big Lebowski*. He was stoned and still cracked the case!"

—@Ian_Lord

LIL RECORD

109

Newsies' 1992 poppy appeal (1). *Newsies* was opposed on the Billboard Hot 100 singles chart by Barry Manilow's last record of 1992, "I'll Be Your Boyfriend," and by the 1993 hit "I Wanna Dance with Somebody" by Whitney Houston.



1. I Wanna Dance with Somebody
—Whitney Houston

1. A viable alternative to "All I Want for Christmas Is You."

Olivia Newton-John and John Travolta are collaborating on a Christmas album. Unfortunately, it's called *This Christmas* instead of *Grease on Earth*.

2. When to bust out that pioneer bonnet.

Sony Pictures is in negotiations to produce a *Little House on the Prairie* movie.

3. A dearth of Lena Dunham-isms.

The Hollywood wunderkind is living her *Girls* character's dream: she's reportedly shopping an essays and advice book for \$1 million.

Storyville

WELCOME TO AUTUMN BOOKS TERRITORY, WHERE NEIGHBORS INCLUDE CHEFS, WONKS, CON WOMEN AND, PER USUAL, VAMPIRES

1



Cosmic Comics

A quartet of graphic novels explore song craft, soldiers and a sinister future

1 C. Tyler **YOU'LL NEVER KNOW, BOOK THREE: SOLDIER'S HEART**

Soldier's heart is what people used to call PTSD, and the final volume of Tyler's exquisitely painted trilogy explores how her father's World War II experiences have reverberated in her family. The book is as much about empty spaces—in history and on the page—as it is about the details she can fill in.

2 Chris Ware **BUILDING STORIES**

This is more than a book; it's a profusion of printed paper: a box full of pamphlets, comic books, newspapers, hardcovers and even a folding screen. Together they present the tale of the occupants of a three-story building in Chicago, told in Ware's instantly recognizable style, with panels so silent and perfectly composed, they're reminiscent of stained-glass windows.



3 Frank M. Young and David Lesky **THE CARTER FAMILY: DON'T FORGET THIS SONG**

From the late 1920s to the early '40s, A.P. Sara and Maybelle Carter's hit records turned the musical culture of the South into the cornerstone of country music. This biography hopscoches across their career, and Lesky's artwork—inspired by newspaper comics of the Carters' era—gives it a rustic, meditative tone.



Q&A

NATE SILVER

A CRYSTAL BALL FILLED WITH STATS

On the night of the 2008 election, Silver, a former New York Times columnist, wrote a column predicting the outcome of the election. He was wrong, but his column was a hit. He's now a regular on the radio and in the news, and he's back with a new book, *The Nate Silver Book of Odds*.

What's the most common misperception about prediction?

People sometimes think that when you make a prediction with a percentage attached to it, it means you're hedging your bets—like I'm 80% confident in it, which is not what it means. If 80% were just a euphemism for "Obama's the big favorite, but I don't want to say it's in the bag yet," then I would have the guts to put him at 99%.

Are people naturally statistically illiterate?

There's a certain kind of math phobia that can creep into the culture. I don't think the average statistics or probability course is taught in a very good way. Or it's taught in a very abstract, textbook way with lots of terms instead of "Here's a bunch of data. Let's start to have some fun with it."



'There's a certain kind of math phobia that can creep into the culture.'

Dark Days

TWO WRITERS ESCHEW THE BRIGHT SIDE

IT MIGHT BE COUNTED AS a minor miracle that Emma Donoghue sold more than a million copies of her disquieting 2010 novel *Room*, which is narrated by a 5-year-old boy held captive with his mother by her kidnapper and rapist. Donoghue's ambitious new collection, *Astray*, isn't exactly a beach read either. Its array of characters—a pet elephant cruelly sold off to the circus in 1882, an attorney taken for a ride by a con woman in 1735, a Texas slave who absconds with his master's wife in 1864—includes wanderers and bunglers, victims and outcasts. (The stories are all inspired by true events, and a postscript after each explains the nature of the author's source material.) Donoghue's affinity for yesteryear's untold tales is charming, and her talent for dialect is hard to overstate, which is why it's the first-person stories in *Astray* that shine brightest. (A white writer's interpretation of black vernacular is potentially cringeworthy, but the aforementioned slave's speech rings genuine, not gimmicky.)

Each and every one of Donoghue's characters leaves an impression; the same cannot be said for Harold Silver, the narrator of A.M. Homes' darkly funny new novel *May We Be Forgiveness*. Silver, a Nixon scholar, is an affable nonentity: "Mostly I don't have feelings," he jovially declares. The fates do their damndest to rile

him; the indignities and ordeals unfolding around him include murder, sudden-onset psychosis and a controversial kiss. And that's just the first 15 pages. The result is that Silver must assume responsibility for two teenagers, a challenge to which he ineptly but tenderly rises. The moments shared between this ad hoc family are the novel's most endearing and yet totally Homesian—that is to say, grotesque. Homes' signature trait is a fearless inclination to torment her characters and render their failures, believing that the reader is sophisticated enough—and forgiving enough—to tag along.

—KATIE ARNOLD-RATLIFF

4 Charles Burns THE HIVE

Tenderness and horror keep erupting out of each other in this *Tintin* via William S. Burroughs trilogy that began with the 2010 graphic novel *X'd Out*. Burns scrambles his story's chronology and cosmology: *The Hive* is both a sweet, queer, punk-era romance and a postapocalyptic nightmare of endless labor and forced breeding. —LEV GROSSMAN AND DOUGLAS WOLK

Are you bored of politics?

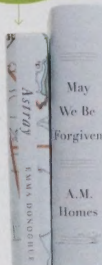
I like elections. I'm not sure if I like politics or not. There's a lot in political coverage that's bad analysis or BS punditry or purely partisan or selective reading of evidence. It's very frustrating, but it's also how you differentiate yourself in the long run. These people who are going on TV and saying stupid things, I've stopped calling them out because [they] set a good example to contrast yourself against.

Anything planned for next year?

Sleep. Because I haven't done it very much. I like looking at data related to cities and urban life. That's something I could see as being fun to do, because a lot of things are being looked at by stodgy bureaucracies, and there's a lot of low-hanging fruit. I'd be more likely to start exploring that than go try and beat the markets, where I know that the average competitor is pretty good. —ADAM SORESENSEN

Homes' novel began life as a short story intended for an anthology edited by Zadie Smith

Donoghue's Cambridge dissertation explored male-female friendships in 18th-century English fiction



Scary Monsters

PARANORMAL NOVELS BUILT ON PROVEN FORMULAS

THE STORIES WE READ TO frighten ourselves say a lot about what we want and what we fear. What the big horror books of the moment imply is that we hope for long relationships with fictional characters, especially if they're teenage girls; we prefer evil to be uncomplicated and unspeakably awful in familiar ways; and above all, we long to go to the movies.

Two of this season's paranormal novels—Maggie Stiefvater's *The Raven Boys* (the first of a four-volume series of young-adult books) and Justin Cronin's *The Twelve* (the second volume of a trilogy, following 2010's *The Passage*) are built on familiar formulas. *The*

Twelve is set in a world where the apocalypse has arrived in the form of death-row prisoners transformed by government experiments into vampires (called virals) and a spunky, permanently teenage heroine has devised a cunning plan to save the world from fascistic, vampiric patriarchy. It's like Stephen King's *The Stand* with a desexed *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* angle and a little *Handmaid's Tale* thrown in.

The Raven Boys is a flirtier kind of horror-fantasy, aimed at teens clutching tattered *Twilight* and *Sandman* paperbacks. Blue Sargent is this book's spunky teenage heroine, who amplifies other people's psychic powers although she's not psychic herself. Her doomed paramour may be one of a cluster of handsome, rough-edged, outrageously wealthy prep-school lads. The plot involves a sleeping king and speaking trees, while Stiefvater's quirky prose has ample nerdy pleasures.

Both books were clearly written with a film franchise in mind. The big action scenes in *The Twelve* in particular read like descriptions of storyboards. What both lack, crucially, is a human dimension to their antagonists. We can handle flesh-shredding vampires and walking corpses, but apparently it's still too frightening to imagine that anyone could disagree with us without being a monster.

—DOUGLAS WOLK

Time Regained

Making connections among the season's big memoirs

Rushdie's book sets a land-speed record for name-dropping (Brian Grazer, Will Smith, Warren Beatty, Carrie Fisher, Meg Ryan—and that's just pages 615–16); the Vogue creative director's book doubles as a fashion-world Who's Who of the past half-century

FAMOUS FRIENDS

CHINUA ACHEBE'S
THERE WAS A
COUNTRY

SALMAN RUSHDIE'S
JOSEPH ANTON

JOSEPH
CONRAD



In *Things Fall Apart*, Nigerian novelist Achebe, left, famously riffed on Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*; in hiding after a fatwa, Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses*, took his pseudonym from Conrad and Chekhov

Cronin's trilogy was inspired by his 8-year-old daughter's asking him to write about "a girl who saves the world"

As with all her books, Stiefvater made an animated trailer for *The Raven Boys*, with a soundtrack she composed



Q&A

BARBARA KINGSOLVER

CREATING ART OUT OF GLOBAL WARMING

Raised in rural Kentucky and trained as a biologist, Barbara Kingsolver was perhaps destined to write *Flight Behavior*, her new novel about a young woman in backwoods Tennessee whose life is upended by ecological disaster.



'We decide what we believe first, and then we go looking for facts that support what we believe.'



Coddington, above in 1974, left a steepy Welsh village to reinvent herself as a model and style arbiter; Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Russo composes a bittersweet paean to Gloversville, a onetime center of the glove-making industry in upstate New York.

SMALL-TOWN ENNUI

GRACE CODDINGTON'S GRACE

RICHARD RUSSO'S ELSEWHERE

BENJAMIN ANASTAS' TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE

MEMORABLE MOTHERS

Russo's late mother is the cover star of his book, while Anastas' memoir takes its title from a sign that his mother's hippie-fringe therapist once hung around his neck.

Why did you choose to make climate change such an important part of *Flight Behavior*?

I live in southern Appalachia, and I'm surrounded by farms and coal mines. Our agriculture here has gone through one disaster year after another, so climate change is not some kind of abstract future threat. The people most affected by climate change already are people among whom I live: rural, conservative farmers. And it strikes me that these are the same people who are least prepared to understand

and believe in climate change and its causes.

Does that cultural identity make people less accepting of the message coming from climate scientists?

I wanted to write about that. I wanted to write about how science works and how it doesn't work, how religious faith works and how it doesn't work. And why this particular conversation about global warming is proving so difficult for us. If I had to sum up the heart of this novel in a sentence, I would say it's about why [differ-

ent] people can look at the same set of facts and come away with absolutely different convictions about what we've seen.

How do you break this resistance to the facts?

There isn't a single answer. But throwing more facts at people clearly isn't working, and there is an element of condescension in assuming that people who don't agree with you need more facts that you have. We decide what we believe first, and then we go looking for facts that support what we believe.

Do artists have a responsibility to address issues as serious as climate change?

The only responsibility artists have is to understand the power of our craft and use it carefully. It's something like owning firearms. Pay attention to where it's aimed. Make sure you're using it carefully and well. A novel has—fiction has—an enormous power. It has the power to bring the reader inside the mind of another person. Only fiction can do that. So I try to use that power as well as I can.

—BRYAN WALSH

HARK, ANGRY TOURISTS!

A FEW CHOICE CURSES FROM JASON SACHER'S *HOW TO SWEAR AROUND THE WORLD*

'Tu es con comme un balai!'

'GOOZ-BEH RISHET!'

(French for "You are stupid as a broom")

(Persian for "A fart to your beard")

'Kuse muuntajaan!'

(Finnish for "May you piss into a transformer")

'Ecel serbeti icmek!'

(Turkish for "Drink the sherbet of fate")

(Argentine Spanish for "Sock sucker")

'Chupamedias!'

Indulge-o-Meter

Cookbooks that range from health-conscious to hedonistic



MOST VIRTUOUS



1 Andrew Weil TRUE FOOD: SEASONAL, SUSTAINABLE, SIMPLE, PURE

Weil, the M.D. and best-selling health expert, is part owner of True Food Kitchen, which bills itself as one of the healthiest restaurants in America. Its namesake cookbook features global cuisine (citrusy tabbouleh, garlicky soup fortified with a medicinal herb) that derives flavor from spices, not fat.

2 Magnus Nilsson FÄVIKEN

Just 28, Nilsson is routinely counted among the world's greatest chefs. He opened Fävikén on a remote Swedish farm near the Arctic Circle in 2008. Primarily interested in vegetables, Nilsson creates recipes that are as strange, intricate and wonderful as his titles (like *A Leaf of Kale Steamed So Briefly That It Is Dying on the Plate*).

3 Yotam Ottolenghi and Sami Tamimi JERUSALEM

Owners of five successful restaurants in London, the authors were born in the book's titular city—Ottolenghi on the Jewish side, Tamimi on the Arab side. In this follow-up to their breakout hit, *Plenty*, they seek to re-create the foods of their childhoods and do so with great delicacy and equanimity.

4 Deb Perelman THE SMITTEN KITCHEN COOKBOOK

A wildly popular food blog translated into print, *Smitten Kitchen* is full of simple but showstopping recipes that put flavor ahead of presentation. The dishes assert themselves as neither health food nor hedonistic—give or take a red-wine-infused chocolate cake or a cookie studded with buttered popcorn.

CASTING CALL

ASSEMBLING THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE FOR A FEW OF FALL'S PRESTIGE TITLES



This Is How You Lose Her Junot Díaz

To play the cerebral cad Yunior, **Gael García Bernal** could project the right mix of book smarts, dumb lust and Peter Pan complex. As a composite of his many lost loves, **America Ferrera**—who was impressively flirty in the cop drama *End of Watch*—would be his perfect match.



NW Zoë Smith

As the outwardly successful but fragmented Natalie, **Thandie Newton** brings the right blend of poise and vulnerability. Ditto **Keira Knightley** as the less ambitious, equally imbalanced Leah. We'd also recruit **Paminder Nagra** as Shar, the junkie banging on Leah's door, to reunite her and Knightley for the first time since *Bend It Like Beckham*.